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KHIRBET EL MEFJER

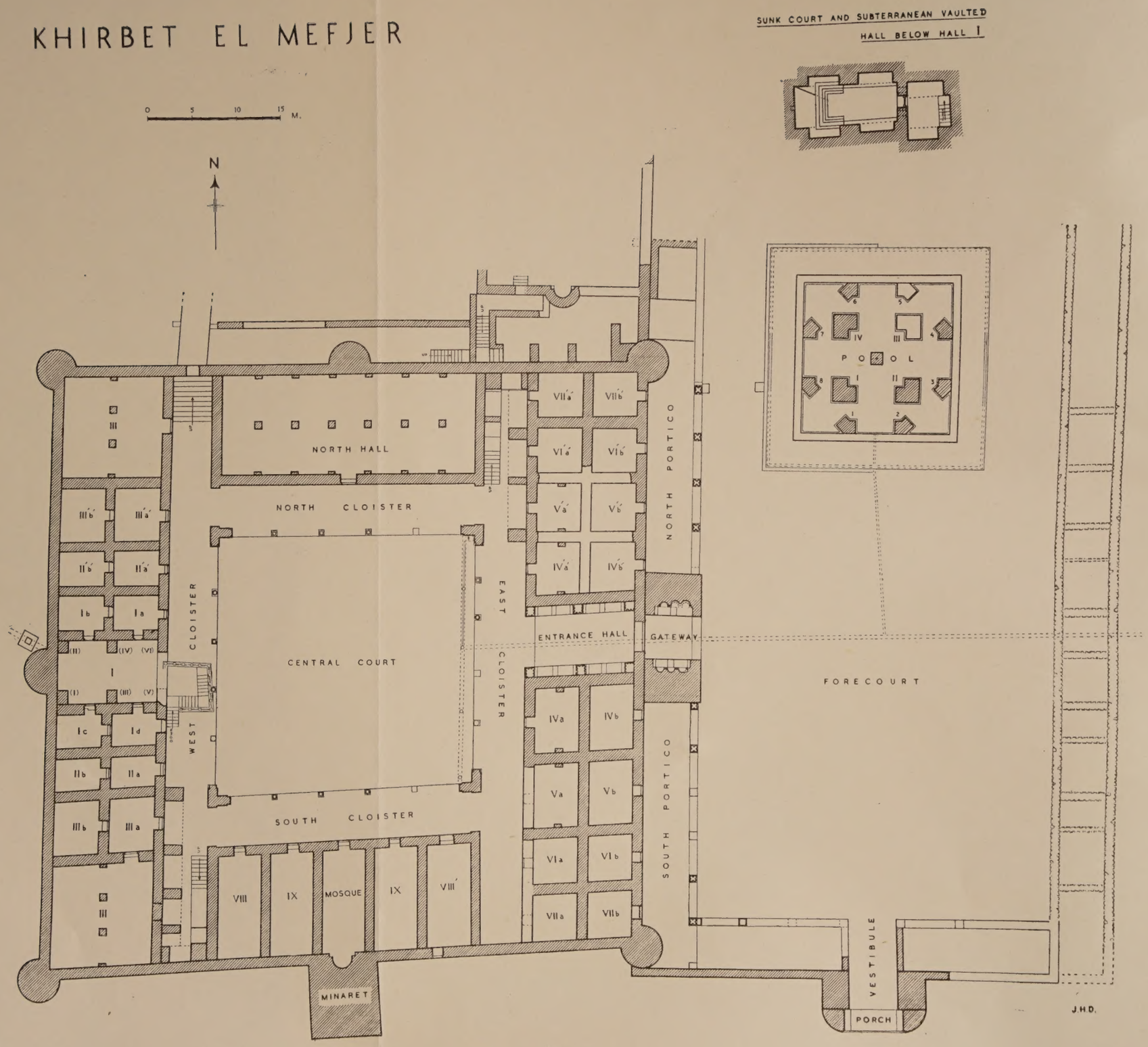


FIG. 1.

EXCAVATIONS AT KHIRBET EL MEFJER. IV[1]

THE areas which were excavated at Khirbet el Mefjer during the fourth and fifth seasons in 1938 and 1940 were as follows: the remainder of the East Block; the North and South Porticoes flanking the Gateway; most of the Forecourt in front of the Palace, including the pond; a narrow strip around the Palace walls; the stairs found north of the Palace leading to the roof; and a drain and shaft which were discovered outside the Palace on the west. (Plan, Fig. 1.)

The East Block. Rooms IV *b*, V *b*, VI *b*, and VII *b* in the southern half of this block, which have been mentioned previously,[2] were completely cleared. None of them had been paved. Room IV *b* was well preserved, the walls standing to a height of over 3 metres. The height of the door opening into the South Portico could be deduced from the gaps left for the lintel in the masonry on both door-jambs. The lintel itself, however, had disappeared. In this room a pipe was found below the threshold of the door, leading out into the South Portico. Its level would have been below the finished floor of the room. Room V *b* was moderately well preserved, but the walls stood somewhat lower than those of Room IV *b*. Room VI *b* had lost two of its walls, the west wall by stone looting and the east by the earthquake.[3] Along the middle of the room there is a row of stones embedded in the floor, running north and south. Voussoirs and other remains of fallen arches were found in these three rooms about 1 to 1½ metres above the floor. Room VII *b* was moderately well preserved also, being structurally protected by the south-east corner tower of the Palace.

The north half of this block (Pl. XXX, 1) had suffered more damage than the south half. The partition walls between Rooms IV′ *a*′, V′ *a*′, VI′ *a*′, IV ′*b*′, V′ *b*′, and VI′ *b*′, had been removed down to foundation level by stone looters in recent years, and their position was indicated solely by the edges of the concrete pavement and a few stones which the stone looters had spared. But the walls of Rooms VII′ *a*′ and VII′ *b*′ were well preserved except for a few cracks caused by the earthquake, and stood over a metre high. The pavement in Rooms IV′ *a*′ and V′ *a*′ was found intact. It is made of the same material as that employed in the other rooms of the Palace already described.[4] In Rooms VI′ *a*′ and VII′ *a*′ the concrete pavement had been removed and replaced by a purplish cement in the first room, and by bricks in the second. The responds found against the middle of both the south and north walls of

[1] Cf. *QDAP*, VIII, pp. 51–3.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 52.
[3] *Ibid.*, V, p. 137 and *ibid.*, VI, p. 167.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 163.

Rooms IV′ *a′* and V′ *a′*, and the few voussoirs discovered in the debris, indicated that these rooms were spanned by arches like the corresponding rooms (IV *a* and V *a*)[1] in the south half of the block. Rooms VI′ *a′* and VII′ *a′* show evidence of re-use in the last phase of occupation of the Palace. In addition to the modification of the floor, an intrusive wall, running north and south, divides Room VI′ *a′* into two parts. The bricks used for flooring Room VII′ *a′* were voussoir bricks, procured from other parts of the Palace. The pottery found in these two rooms has been shown to belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[2] Rooms IV′ *b′*, V′ *b′*, VI′ *b′*, and VII′ *b′* were not paved. In Room IV′ *b′* a pottery pipe similar to that found in Room IV *b* was found below the door.

Porticoes. The Gateway was flanked by two arcaded porticoes in two stories. The North Portico (Pl. XXX, 2) was originally divided into four bays by three square piers, each carrying a cluster of four columns, capped by a cluster of four capitals. Also there were two responds, one at each end of the Portico. The respond against the Gateway Tower is destroyed, but the respond on the north and the three piers still exist.

The fallen masonry in the third and fourth bays has not been appreciably disturbed since the collapse of the Portico, and it has been possible to ascertain its original position without difficulty (Pl. XXXI, 1).

The South Portico was divided into five bays, by four piers. The two middle piers from the Gateway were found destroyed to floor level, but the others were preserved to a height of about 1 metre. There is a slight difference between the piers in the North and South Porticoes. Whereas in the North Portico there is a common square base for the cluster of four columns (Pl. XXX, 2), in the South Portico the base is divided into four parts, each part corresponding to one of the columns (Pl. XXXI, 2 and 3). The piers and responds were spanned by arches built of plain voussoirs (Pl. XXXI, 4).

Porticoes, First Floor. We were lucky enough to find the bases, columns, capitals, and voussoirs of the arcades on the first floor over the North and South Porticoes in their relative positions. The columns were ranged in front of the existing piers of the ground floor with their corresponding capitals and bases not far from them, while the voussoirs were found between them, in some cases forming arches on the floor where they fell (Pl. XXXI, 5). The bases and capitals were of sandstone like the rest of the masonry of the Palace, while the columns of the North Portico were with one exception of grey granite, and those of the South Portico of white marble. The voussoirs were moulded and had a whitewash on both faces and on the soffit. In addi-

[1] *QDAP*, VIII, p. 52.

[2] *Ibid.*, X, pp. 66, 74.

tion they were painted with red lines to emphasize the divisions of the moulding and the outline of each voussoir.

The Forecourt. There was a large forecourt in front of the Palace, a small area of which was excavated in 1937[1] and the remaining part during the two seasons under review. Entrance to this Forecourt was gained through a porch on the south side. The Porch was originally intended to be flanked by two square towers, but the masons, on reaching the third course above the level of the floor, made a slight modification, by adding a quarter-round projection to each of the flanking towers (Pl. XXXI, 6). The Porch was paved with bituminous limestone flags, most of which had been removed; but the impressions left in the mortar still exist. It had two benches, one on either side, which were probably intended for the use of the guards (Pl. XXXII, 1). These have since been destroyed, down to foundation level, by looting.

The Porch led into the Forecourt through a vestibule, of which only the foundations remain. The Forecourt was surrounded by cloisters on the west, the south, and the east. On the south side, viz. on either side of the Vestibule, there were remains of a pillared cloister; the bases of some of the pillars were found *in situ* (Pl. XXXII, 2), whereas the pillars themselves had been removed by looters. On the west the Forecourt was bounded by the arcaded porticoes of the Palace described above, while on the east the course of the cloister was indicated by two parallel courses of foundations, the inner being the substructure of the stylobate which carried the pillars, and the outer, the foundation of the outer wall of the Forecourt. Moreover, stones moulded in the same manner as those which formed the bases of the piers on the south side were found in a number of places quite close to the substructure. The north limit of the Forecourt has not been reached, and it appears that the Forecourt was common to two palaces, the one under discussion and another which lies north of it, but which has not yet been excavated.

The East Façade of the Palace. In the Forecourt, immediately in front of the Palace, several carved stones, presumably used for decorating the east façade, were discovered. Among these there were stones which made up three rosettes, each rosette consisting of six triangular stones (Pl. XXXII, 3),[2] and also a number of stones decorated with a guilloche pattern enclosing rosettes (Pl. XXXII, 4–5). The background was in every case painted red to emphasize the carving. The position of these stones in the façade has not yet been ascertained.

Farther in front of the Palace were stones which, when put together, form

[1] Cf. *ibid.*, VIII, p. 52, referred to as 'walled enclosure'.
[2] Cf. *ibid.*, VI, Pl. XLVI, 2.

crenellations. These apparently fell from the top of the Palace Wall. Each crenellation was composed of five stones, arranged as in Pl. XXXII, 6. The stones were carved with superimposed triangles and whitewashed. Red lines were again used to emphasize the carving.

The Pond. The north part of the Forecourt is occupied by a square pond with a fountain in the middle (Fig. 1). The basin of the fountain has disappeared, but the stand is still intact; it is built of stones, topped by a row of bricks, on which the basin stood (Pl. XXXIII, 1). The pottery pipe which supplied the fountain with water is still in position. The fountain was surrounded by four L-shaped piers forming a square, while around these there were eight other piers, two against each wall of the pond, forming the corners of an octagon (Pl. XXXIII, 2–3). Voussoirs, carved with wind-blown acanthus leaves (Pl. XXXIII, 4), and painted yellow and red on one side, and decorated with frescoes on the soffit, were found between Piers I and II and Piers III and IV (cf. Fig. 1). Moreover, near the fountain there was a number of concave stones, moulded on the inner face, which could only have come from the inner cornice of a drum; while outside the pond there was a smaller number of convex stones, which were moulded on the outside and which presumably came from the outside cornice of a drum.

It is thus evident that the L-shaped piers were spanned by arches which supported a drum. Whether the drum was covered by a dome or a timber roof is uncertain.

A large quantity of vaulting bricks set in mortar and forming parts of arches were found around all the piers. This may indicate either that the octagonal piers were spanned by brick arches, or possibly, that there was a brick dome.

The walls of the pond and the sides of all the piers were faced with bricks up to a certain height (Pl. XXXIII, 3)[1] and coated with plaster. The ceiling appears to have been decorated with frescoes like the voussoirs. About the middle of the south wall there was a plug hole, to drain off water when necessary.[2]

Around the pond there was a walk paved with bituminous flags, most of which had disappeared. The walk was bounded by a row of stones. The last rows of flags along the edges of the walk were furnished with a gutter which collected rain-water and passed it on to a lower drain through holes which occur at certain intervals in the gutter.[3]

[1] 90 cm. in the case of the walls and piers of the octagon and 120 cm. in the case of the L-shaped piers.

[2] Is this pond a *Shaderwan* ? Cf. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes*, Vol. I, p. 715.

[3] *QDAP*, VI, p. 160 and Pl. LIII, 2 and 3.

Around and in the pond were many stones, carved with miniature arcades and colonnettes (Pl. XXXIII, 5). These apparently decorated the top of the octagon, as the corner-stones among them are cut at an angle of 135°. There were also a number of other elements of decoration in stone, both in and around the pond. These will be the subject of a separate study. Among these are the pilaster capitals of the different piers, fragments of at least two and possibly more human figures, and a number of other moulded stones the original position of which has not yet been ascertained.

The Palace Walls. A trench about a metre wide was excavated around the entire length of the Palace Walls, starting from the south-east round tower.[1] As expected, round towers were encountered at every corner and half-round towers along the middle of the north and west walls.

Immediately north-west of the half-tower on the west there was a shaft. It led into the drain which carried off waste water from the bath in the subterranean Vaulted Hall.[2] The depth of the shaft was 6·7 m. from the original surface of the soil. The drain was followed for a distance of 15 m. west of the shaft, where the bottom of a second similar shaft was discovered, the clearance of which had to be deferred.[3]

Along the outside of the north wall of the Palace two sets of stairs were found, which originally led up to the roof. One set, starting from the west, abutted on the Palace wall, while the other (Pl. XXXIII, 6), starting from the north, met the former at a common landing, whence the stairs (which are now destroyed) formerly continued up to the top of the north-east round tower. This flight was carried on arches, of which only parts of the first arch and the piers of the other arches remain. The passage ways were roofed with brick vaults, some of which were found lying over the stairs.

There were other walls in this area (cf. Fig. 1), but they have not been completely investigated.

Decoration and other details: Frescoes. We have already mentioned the small number of stones with frescoes which were found in Rooms IV *a* and V *a*.[4] During the last two seasons stones with frescoes were found in large numbers in Rooms IV *b*, V *b*, VI *b*, IV′ *b*′, V′ *b*′, VI′ *b*′, and VII′ *b*′, in the North and

[1] *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 52.

[2] *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 164–5.

[3] Further study was made of the manner in which waste water in the bath in the Subterranean Vaulted Hall was drained off. The first tentative explanation (*QDAP*, IV, 165) has had to be modified. It was found that the floor of the bath is 5 cm. higher than the floor of the rest of the hall, and the pottery pipe appearing on the left in *QDAP*, VI, Pl. LXI, 1 actually drains water from the bath into the hall, the floor of which slopes slightly to the north. This is drained away by the pipe on the right (appearing in the same illustration) which communicates with the drain described above.

[4] *QDAP*, VIII, p. 52.

South Porticoes, and also a few in the Forecourt immediately in front of the Porticoes (Pl. XXXIV, 2–4). Again, no signs of frescoes were found on the existing walls of these rooms. It is thus safe to assume that these frescoes came from the rooms and galleries of the collapsed first floor. Among these stones are some voussoirs and door-jambs.

Stuccoes. The galleries over the North and South Porticoes were balustraded with carved stucco panels, placed between the columns in the same way as in the cloisters of the first floor around the Central Court.[1] A large number of fragments of this stucco were found in the debris in front of the South Portico and a smaller number in front of the North Portico (Pl. XXXIV, 1).

The windows of the palace on the first floor had plaster frames with apertures of varying shapes into which pieces of glass were set. A great many pieces of plaster, which must have formed window frames, occurred in Rooms IV *b*, V *b*, IV′ *b*′, VI′ *b*′, and VII′ *b*′, in the North and South Porticoes, and in the areas immediately in front of them. Similar fragments were also found in the pond. They were usually painted red and sometimes black. In some cases the glass was found still attached to the stucco (Pl. XXXIV, 5). The glass varies in colour and in shape, its shape following the outline of the various apertures in the plaster frames. In addition it is sometimes painted in black with floral or geometrical designs.

Tiles. The discovery of tiles in some parts of the Palace has already been recorded.[2] The manner in which the Palace was roofed, if the roof was ever completed, is not clear, but it is certain that the galleries over the Porticoes were roofed with wooden beams and tiles. Used tiles, showing a residue of the lime mortar by which they were attached to each other, were found in large quantities in the debris of both the North and South Porticoes, while the mortar on some of the stones shows the impressions left by wooden beams.

Mosaic Pavements. In addition to the mosaic pavements previously mentioned[2] large quantities of mosaic pieces were found in the debris of Rooms IV *b*, V *b*, and VII *b*, and in the South Portico (Pl. XXXIV, 6). Not only single tesserae but large pieces of destroyed pavements were met with. These must have come from the rooms of the first floor. Curiously enough, the tesserae found in the North Portico and the rooms adjoining it are fewer than those in the South Portico, although the debris in this section of the Palace was less disturbed than that in the south section. This may indicate that the floor of the upper story of the north section of the East Block had not been completed before the earthquake.[3]

[1] *QDAP*, VI, p. 167. [2] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 164. [3] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 167.

1. North half of East Block, looking north
2. North Portico, looking north

EXCAVATIONS AT KHIRBET EL MEFJER. IV.

1. North Portico, fallen masonry
2. South Portico, looking north
3. Base of respond in South Portico
4. South Portico, fallen voussoirs
5. Voussoirs from first floor over South Portico
6. Base of tower, flanking the Porch

EXCAVATIONS AT KHIRBET EL MEFJER. IV.

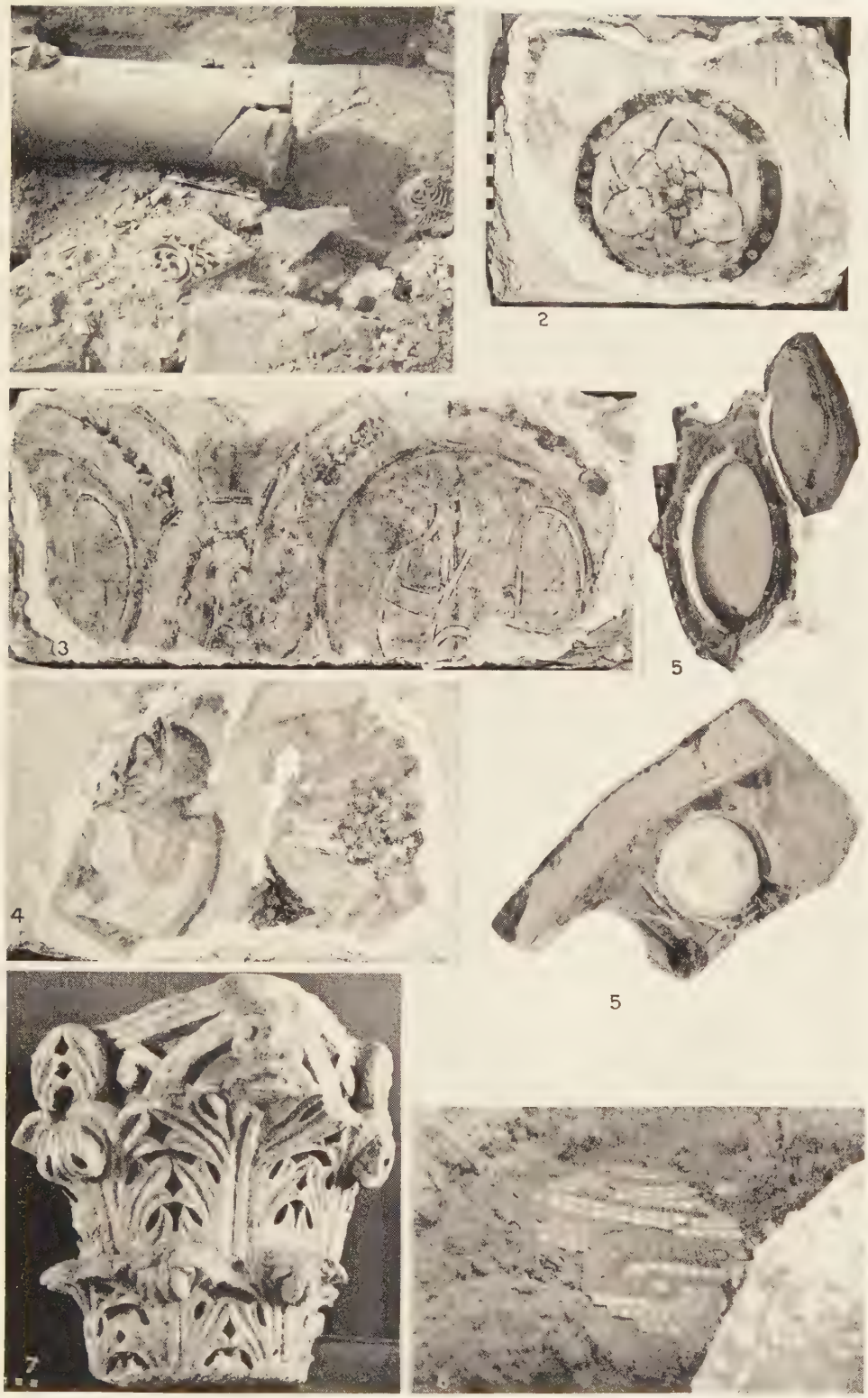
1. Porch. Traces of bench and pavement
3–5. Architectural details from East façade

2. Base of pillar in cloister of Forecourt
6. Crenellation, from East façade

EXCAVATIONS AT KHIRBET EL MEFJER. IV.

1. Fountain stand in centre of Pond
2. Base of octagonal pier
3. Base of octagonal pier
4. Voussoirs found in Pond
5. Small arcades from Pond
6. Stairs leading to roof of Palace

EXCAVATIONS AT KHIRBET EL MEFJER. IV.



1. Column and fragments of stucco from gallery over South Portico
2–4. Frescoes from first floor of Palace
5. Fragments of windows from first floor
6. Part of mosaic floor from South Portico
7. Capital from Room V b

EXCAVATIONS AT KHIRBET EL MEFJER. IV.

Other Pieces of Architectural Decoration. A number of small marble slabs, some carved with bead-and-reel motifs and others plain, were found in Rooms IV′ *a′* and V′ *a′* and, to a less extent, in the Entrance Hall. There were also some painted in red, blue, and green. In the South Portico there were other marble fragments inscribed in Greek or Arabic, or bearing sketches of pictorial motifs in black ink. Plain fragments of marble were found in large quantities all over the Palace.

A fragment of a wooden beam carved with floral designs and painted in red and blue was found in Room IV′ *b′* and another, with painted decoration only, was found in the third bay of the North Portico. These may have come from the ceiling. A few other plain beams were found in Rooms VI′ *b′* and VII′ *b′*.[1] A Corinthian capital in sandstone, partly painted in blue and partly gilt over a red background, was found in Room V *b* about a metre above the floor (Pl. XXXIV, 7), while small fragments of another capital were discovered in Room V′ *b′*.

In the first bay of the North Portico, just in front of Room IV′ *b′*, a fragment of thick blue glass measuring 50 × 46 × 5 cm. was discovered just above the floor.

The rich and varied elements employed in the decoration of the Palace furnish still further proof of its importance.

D. C. Baramki

[1] Does this suggest that the beams were stacked there, like the tiles stacked in Hall III′, but could not be used on account of the destruction of the Palace by earthquake before its completion? Cf. *QDAP*, VI, p. 164.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASCALON, JERUSALEM, BEISĀN, AND HEBRON[1]

1. *Ascalon.* Found by J. Ory, Inspector of Antiquities, in the field of Amīn ʿAbdul Qādi Yūnis, adjoining on the west the remains of a Byzantine church. The inscription is engraved on the shaft of a marble column, 1·05 m. in length, with a diameter of 0·49 m. This column was subsequently sawn lengthwise and turned into a lintel; the pivot-sockets are still visible. In this process the right side of the lines was sawn off and lost.

Four lines, 34 cm. in height. The size of the letters in the first line is 7 cm.; in the second 7·5, third 6, fourth 5·4 cm. Pl. XXXV, 1.

ЄΙCΘ . . .	Εἷς θ[εός].
ΝΙΙ .	Νίκ̣[α],
ΙΟΥΛΙ . . .	Ἰουλι[ανέ].
ЄΖ̣ . .	Ἔ(τους) Ζ̣[ΞΥ]

God is one. Be victorious, Julian! Year 467.

Epigraphical acclamations in honour of the emperor Julian (A.D. 361–3) have so far been found only in the Provincia Arabia on milestones strung along the Bosra–Aila road in the vicinity of Gerasa and Philadelphia.[2] In spite of the contrary opinion of Peterson,[3] it seems probable that this formula, which we find at no other period, was connected with Julian's struggle against Christianity. The anti-Christian outbreaks which occurred at Ascalon during his reign[4] show that a strong party in that city at least favoured his views, if not his methods. And it is only natural that the Ascalonites, too, should proclaim their loyalty in inscriptions.

The only difficulty in reading this inscription occurs in the fourth line. After Є there follows, apparently, a Z or less probably a Ξ. This inscription is symmetrically cut, with due regard to a vertical axis. Where the line is shorter, as in l. 2, it begins farther to the right. This we see also in l. 4; there

[1] I have to thank Prof. M. Schwabe of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for reading the manuscript of this article and making several corrections, and Dr. M. Schalit for a valuable suggestion.

[2] Bibliography in C. B. Welles, 'The Inscriptions' in *Gerasa*, ed. Kraeling, pp. 489–90, Nos. 345–8. The fact that no inscriptions of that kind have been found outside this area has misled several scholars (Welles, *loc. cit.*, No. 348; V. Chapot, *BCH*, XXIV, 1900, p. 578) into stating categorically that they occur only in Arabia. The present stone shows that such statements were premature.

[3] E. Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, p. 273.

[4] Theodoretus, *Hist. eccl.* III. 3 (ed. Parmentier, *Die gr.-chr. Schriftsteller*, Vol. XIX, p. 182); *Chronicon paschale*, *PG*, XCII, col. 741.

is, therefore, at the utmost, only space for two to three letters after the Z; which would exclude several possible readings which one might supply on the analogy of other inscriptions of the kind.[1] We would propose to read the last line as ἔτους, followed by a date. The main outburst of anti-Christian feeling in Palestine and Arabia naturally occurred during Julian's stay in Antioch, from June 362 to March 363;[2] the proximity of the emperor encouraged his partisans. According to the era of Ascalon, which began in 104 B.C.[3] the year 362/3 corresponds to 467, in Greek ΥΖΖ or ΖΖΥ (alternatively ΖΖΥ), which would fit the gap in the fourth line.

The lettering of the inscription is a good example of the fourth-century oval alphabet[4] and resembles that of other inscriptions in honour of Julian, found in Syria.[5]

2. *Jerusalem.* Inscription engraved on inset stone of a ring-bezel. At present the property of R. Simpson, Esq., Jerusalem, who kindly allowed its publication and supplied the following note on its provenance: 'The stone was acquired from a Greek priest (since dead) in 1916. On handing over the stone he is alleged to have said it was found in Jerusalem several years previously; but this statement could not be verified.'

The stone is ellipsoidal in shape, measuring 14 × 11 mm.; the material is apparently agate, striated in black and a brownish grey. Pl. XXXV. 2.

ЄVTVX	Εὐτυχ-
ѠCAKAKI	ῶς Ἀκακί-
ѠNΦIΛOΔ	ων Φιλοδ-
OΞIAΔI	οξιάδι

Good luck! from Akakion to Philodoxias

The letters V, Φ, and Ѡ show a tendency towards the revived square alphabet,[6] but Є, O, and C are rounded. However, the script used by stonecutters cannot be properly compared to that of monumental epigraphy, because they were cramped in their style by the small space at their disposal and the hardness of the material.

Expressions of good wishes occur fairly often on Greek ring inscriptions.

1 Such as: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; Ἰουλιανὸς ἐνίκησεν; νικᾶν Ἰουλιανὲ ἐγεννήθης. Cp. Welles, *loc. cit*, p. 490.
2 E. v. Borries, s.v. 'Iulianos', in *PW Real-Encyclopädie*, X, cols. 55–6.
3 Ginzel, *Handbuch d. math.-techn. Chronol.* III, pp. 48–9.
4 Welles, *loc. cit.*, pp. 363, 367.
5 *Princeton Archaeol. Exped. to Syria*, III, Sect. A, No. 186 (*PAES*).
6 Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

The formula used varies between ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ = ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς[1] or αὔξει τύχη,[2] and numerous forms of the verb εὐτυχέω, such as εὐτυχοῖο,[3] εὐτύχι,[4] and εὐτυχῶς; the latter has been found on at least three rings, excluding the present one.[5]

The names of two persons, one male, the other female, occurring on the same ring naturally suggest the idea of a betrothal or wedding-ring, more probably the former.[6] Several such rings have been found, all of Late Roman or Byzantine date.[7]

Both names on this ring are very unusual. Ἀκακίων is clearly a derivative (probably a hypocoristicon) of Ἀκάκιος.[8] Ἀκάκιος was a popular name in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., the most famous of its bearers being the patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 471–89) and, nearer to Jerusalem, Acacius ὁ μονόφθαλμος of Caesarea (A.D. 340–66), whose Arianizing tendencies led to the creation of a sect (οἱ περὶ Ἀκάκιον).[9] The name Ἀκάκιος occurs in inscriptions and papyri;[10] the only derivative form approaching the present one is the feminine Ἀκάκιον, sometimes Ἀκάκιν.[11]

Φιλοδοξιάδι is the dative of Φιλοδοξιάς, formed like Ἡρωδιάς. Φιλοδοξία occurs as a noun,[12] but only the male forms Φιλοδόξος or Φιλοδόξιος appear as names on coins and inscriptions.[13]

Both names on the ring belong to the rather colourless class of personal names which are derived from abstract nouns denoting virtues. Neither is specifically Christian nor characteristically pagan. Such names were the favourite expedient of parents in the fourth century A.D., a 'period of transition' if ever there was one; with such a name their child was safe, whichever party gained the upper hand.

We may, therefore, assign this ring to the fourth century; there is nothing in the lettering which would conflict with such a date.

3. *Jerusalem.* El Aqṣa Mosque. Inscription in two lines on a wooden board, in two fragments. Fragment (*a*) was found in the store-room of the mosque;

[1] Marshall, *Catalogue of Finger-Rings in the B.M.*, Nos. 600–17, 642.
[2] *CIG*, IV, 7052. [3] Marshall, *loc. cit.*, No. 632. [4] *CIG*, IV, 7329 c and d, 7340.
[5] *Ibid.*, 7096 b, 7110 b, 7340 b. For the εὐτυχῶς formula in acclamations, see Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, pp. 223 f.
[6] The use of a ring as a betrothal ring (*anulus pronubus*) is clearly recorded in antiquity, while the use of a wedding-ring is late and due to Oriental influences. Marshall, *loc. cit.*, pp. xxi–xxii; Ganschinietz, *PW Real-Encyclopädie*, Ia, s.v. 'Ringe', col. 840.
[7] Marshall, *loc. cit.*, No. 208; Dalton, *B.M. Catalogue of Finger-Rings, Early Christian, &c.*, Nos. 44, 45; *id.*, *B.M. Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities*, Nos. 127, 128.
[8] Cf. the similar instances quoted by Fraenkel, *PW*, *RE*, XVI, s.v. 'Namenwesen', col. 1640.
[9] Athanasius, *PG*, XXVI, col. 701. [10] Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, q.v.
[11] *CIG*, IV, 7326, 7361 f. [12] Dessau, *SIG*, 577, 3.
[13] Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch d. gr. Eigennamen*[3], s.v., and *CIG*, II, 2700 c.

the board which contains the longer fragment (*b*) was found during the repairs of the mosque nailed to the principal roof-beam No. 7 (counting from south). Fragment (*a*) is a longish slip of wood (97 × 9 cm.), broken off at both ends. Fragment (*b*) measures 2·40 × 0·24 m. The shape and size of the letters in both fragments is identical, and so is the kind of wood; both therefore belong to the same inscription. A piece of wood has been cut off the middle of the second line of (*b*). At the left end the inscription begins abruptly; but as no letter is cut in two, it is possible that the break was made deliberately. A wedge, 8 cm. broad, at this end indicates that the fragment was joined to another board on the left. The top and bottom of the board are cut straight and smoothed; so apparently the inscription consisted of two lines only.[1]

Pl. XXXV, 3–4.

(*a*) Ỵ ΟϹΙΩΤΑΤΟỴ . . . .

(*b*) Π̣ΙϹΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ . . . .
ΟΥ Ο ΠΑϹ ΟΙΚΟϹ ΟΥΤΟ . . ΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΩΜΑ ΕΚ Θ̣Ε̣Μ̣Ε̣Λ̣Ι̣ . . . .

[+Ἐπὶ το]ῦ ὁσιωτάτου [ἀρχιε]πισκόπου καὶ πατριάρχου Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλε[στάτου ὁ.Δ./πρεσβυτέρου καὶ οἰκονόμ]ου ὁ πᾶς οἶκος οὗτο[ς τ]οῦ ἁγίου Θωμᾶ ἐκ θεμελί[ων ἐκτίσθη (or: ἀνενεώθη). Ἔτους . . .]

In the time of the most holy archbishop and patriarch Peter and of the most God-beloved (X. priest and oeconomus?) *this whole house of Saint Thomas was erected* (or, *renewed*) *from the foun*(*dations. Year . . .* ?)

The final phrase is fairly certain and allows us to calculate the approximate end of the inscription: after the fragmentary Λ of θεμελίων there were about twelve letters, if a three-letter date is included. A name like Ἰωάννου would fill the space after completing θεοφιλεστάτου. Assuming the standard opening ἐπὶ τοῦ, &c., and reckoning with the ὁσιωτάτου, about twenty letters stood at the beginning, before the Π of the first line of (*b*). The proposed reading, which is, of course, only tentative, would fit the space available.

The principal personage mentioned is fortunately well known and enables us to date the inscription. Peter, the only patriarch of Jerusalem of that name till the time of the Crusades, occupied the patriarchal throne from 524 to 552.[2] From the history of his patriarchate we may with some probability connect the erection or repair of the church of St. Thomas in Jerusalem with the wide-

[1] I have to thank the Supreme Moslem Council for the facilities granted me for the study of this inscription at their Museum.

[2] Le Quien, *Oriens christianus*, III, cols. 189–209; Smith, *Dict. of Chr. Biography*, s.v. 'Petrus', pp. 343–4. Le Quien and most dictionaries give the date of Peter's death as 544. According to Cyrill. Scythopol., *Vita S. Sabae*, 90, his successor Eustochius was appointed on the eve of the Fifth Oecumenical Council, i.e. 552. (Cf. Pargoire, *L'Église byzantine*, p. 39.) I owe this correction to Père F.-M. Abel, O.P.

spread activity of reparation and reconstruction of churches, which from 531 onwards followed the Samaritan revolt of 529.[1] Jerusalem, of course, is not likely to have been affected by the revolt; but when, by the imperial liberality of Justinian, many churches were being rebuilt (including the basilica at Bethlehem), the church of St. Thomas may have been amongst the number. Its site is unknown; the only church of St. Thomas at Jerusalem mentioned in our sources being a much later one.[2]

Inscriptions mentioning the patriarchs of Jerusalem are rare. We can compare only the inscription of Eustochius, Peter's successor, which has been published by Père F.-M. Abel[3] and a doubtful one mentioning the patriarch Juvenalis (*c.* 420–58).[4]

The present inscription is the earliest epigraphical evidence for the use of the title πατριάρχης. Peter's official title, as expressed at the end of Justinian's Const. XII of A.D. 535,[5] was ὁσιώτατος Πέτρος, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἱεροσολύμων. In the circumstances of the time the use of the augmented title is easily explained.[6] The see of Jerusalem had obtained its independence from Antioch and its superiority to Caesarea at the Council of Chalcedon (451), only two generations before.[7] Naturally the archbishops of Jerusalem insisted on proclaiming the fact to the world. The slightly later inscriptions of the patriarchs of Antioch,[8] with their insistence on the patriarchial dignity, may be regarded as a counter-move on the part of the see of Antioch. This seems to apply especially to the inscription of Domnus,[9] with its accumulation of titles: ἁγιώτατος μακαριώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἡμῶν καὶ πατριάρχης. The other cases in which πατριάρχης appears in inscriptions are all of much later date.[10]

The second person mentioned in this inscription is probably the priest who supervised the construction. The title θεοφιλέστατος, later reserved for bishops, is, at that period, commonly given to ordinary priests.[11] An oeco-

[1] Cyrill. Scythopol., *Vita S. Sabae*, 70 (Cotelerius, *Eccl. gr. monumenta*, III, p. 339).
[2] Vincent and Abel, *Jérus. nouvelle*, IV, p. 950.
[3] *RB*, 1907, p. 275.
[4] Macalister, *QSt.*, 1900, p. 238.
[5] Ed. Zachariae v. Lingenthal (Teubner), I, p. 58.
[6] For the use of the titles 'archbishop' and 'patriarch' in the East, see *QDAP*, III, pp. 98 and 101, n. 5.
[7] For the history of this transaction see Leclercq in Hefele, *Hist. d. Conciles*, II, 2, p. 735, n. 2, and *Dict. d'archéol. chrét.*, XIII, cols. 2476–9.
[8] *AAES*, I, Nos. 29 and 62, *PAES*, III B, No. 1088.
[9] *AAES*, I, No. 29.
[10] *CIG*, IV, 8987 (681), Jalabert and Mouterde, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de la Syrie*, No. 58 (817–45), *CIG*, IV, 8685 (868–78), 8690 (898), *MAMA*, I, 257 (983–96), *CIG*, IV, 8730 (1148). The Emmaus inscription, read by P. Germer-Durand Ἀλέξανδρος Καισαρείας πατριάρχης (*RB*, 1894, 254; reprinted Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, XIII, col. 2489) must be revised; the original reading proposed has been tacitly rejected by PP. Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, p. 428.
[11] *PAES*, III B, Nos. 813 (A.D. 605) and 1056.

nomus of the patriarchate (which office was often a priestly function)[1] would be most closely connected with the erection or repair of a church; we have completed the text accordingly.

The phrase ὁ πᾶς οἶκος κ.τ.λ. is almost exactly paralleled in an inscription from el-Kefr, dated 735: Ἐκτήσθι ὁ οἶκος τοῦτο ἀπὸ θεμελί⟨ω⟩ν.[2] Κτίζω is usually used with θεμέλια, but ἀνανεόω occurs also.[3]

The lettering of this inscription is the common Byzantine oval alphabet; the shape of the letters, especially of the A, approaches most closely that of the mosaic inscription at Jerash, dated A.D. 531.[4] This agrees very well with the date proposed above. The lettering is very regular and the general effect is pleasing. It shows that, despite the roughly cut and badly shaped rustic writing which is common to most of the surviving inscriptions of that period, great care was taken in cutting official inscriptions which were destined to be placed in a prominent position in the capital of the province.

Owing to climatic conditions in Palestine, monumental inscriptions on wood are extremely rare. The only other examples at all comparable are two inscriptions on beams in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.[5] These have been preserved because they were placed inside a building which has been in constant use ever since the Byzantine era. The preservation of the present inscription, originally over the door of the church of St. Thomas, is entirely due to the fact that it was reused in the Aqṣa mosque, another 'living' edifice, now centuries old.

4. *Beisān.* Slab of limestone, 0·60 × 0·55 m., 0·18 m. thick. The height of the letters varies between 6 and 8 cm. Now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 42. 1.

Pl. XXXV, 5.

+ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ	+καὶ τοῦτο
ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΗϹ	τὸ ἔργον τῆς
ΠΛΑΚΩϹΕΩϹ	πλακώσεως
ΦΛˢ ΖΗΝΟΦΑΝΟΥϹ	Φλ(αβίου) Ζηνοφάνους
ΚΟΜˢ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧˢ	κόμ(ητος) καὶ ἄρχ(οντος)

And this work too of facing with marble (or: *paving*) *by Flavius Zenophanes, count and governor . . .*

[1] Cf. *QDAP*, III, pp. 97, 99.
[2] *PAES*, III A, No. 677.
[3] κτίζω, *ibid.*, 547 (A.D. 320–1), 560 (488), 677; *ibid.*, III B, 1176 (491); Welles, in *Gerasa*, Nos. 275, 296; ἀνανεόω with ἐκ *ibid.*, No. 274; with ἀπό Germer-Durand, *RB*, 1892, p. 248.
[4] Welles, *loc. cit.*, p. 367 and No. 306, Pls. LXVI b, LXVII a.
[5] Lagrange, *RB*, 1893, pp. 633 f.

The inscription begins with a καί and has no verb; it forms, therefore, but one of a series of slabs, the others supplying the beginning and the end. It commemorates the liberality of Fl. Zenophanes, a governor of *Palaestina secunda*,[1] who restored or donated a πλάκωσις, a word usually translated 'facing with marble'. However, in an unpublished inscription from the South Church at Isbeita (dated 640) it appears to refer to a stone pavement likewise. A small fragment of a marble slab was previously found at Beisān, in the West Slope area of Tell el Huṣn, inscribed ΠΛΑΚ . . . i.e. [ἐ]πλακ[ώθη] or πλάκ[ωσις].[2] It is remarkable that the name of the governor is preceded by no honorific epithet.

The name Zenophanes occurs mainly in Hellenistic times, five times in literature,[3] once in an Egyptian inscription, dated 80–69 B.C.,[4] and once at Chios.[5] It seems to have been hereditary with the high-priests and rulers of the temple-state of Olba in Cilicia in the second and first centuries B.C.[6] Its appearance in the sixth century at Beisān is another illustration of the archaizing tendency of early Byzantine nomenclature.[7]

The inscription can be dated to the sixth century by the use of the name Flavius, the characteristic oval Byzantine script, and the ˢ abbreviation mark. It supplies a third name of a governor of *Palaestina secunda* at that age, in addition to Fl. Leo and Fl. Anastasius.[8]

5. *Beisān.* Found in a garden. Now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, No. 40.290. On a comb-dressed limestone slab, 0·66 × 0·40 m., tall and narrow letters, 2·5 × 5 cm. Pl. XXXV, 6.

+ΕΚ ΤΙϹ ΔΟΘΗϹΙϹ ΘΕΙΑϹ ΦΙΛΟΤΙ
ΜΙΑϹ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΤΙϹΙΝ ΦΛˢ ΑΡϹΕΝΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΕΝΔΟΞ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΡΓυ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΧΟ
ΥϹ ΑΝΑΙΝΕΩΘΗ ΕΝ ΧΡ ΦΛˢ ΑΝΑϹ
ΤΑϹΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΡ ΑΡΧΟΝ
ΤΟϹ ΕΝ ΙΝΔΙΚΤ Γ̅

[1] Mouterde, *Mél. de l'Univ. S. Joseph*, XVII (1933), p. 183; Starr, *American Journal of Philology*, LVIII, 1937, p. 84.

[2] G. M. FitzGerald, *Beth-Shan Excavations 1921–1923* (Publ. Palest. Section, Mus. Univ. Pennsylv. III), p. 46 (ii).

[3] Pape-Benseler, *Wörterb. d. gr. Eigennamen*³, q.v.

[4] Milne, *Cat. gén. antiq. ég.*; *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 27, 9296³, l. 84.

[5] *CIG*, II, 2235.

[6] Strabo, XIV, 672 and Keil and Wilhelm, *MAMA*, III, Nos. 63–6, 201: ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας Ζηνοφάνης Ζηνοφάνου τοῦ Ζηνοφάνου.

[7] Cf. e.g. Antipater, dux Palaestinae (Alt, *ZDPV*, 1927, pp. 173–5); and Seeck, *Regesten*, passim.

[8] See No. 5, below.

+Ἐκ τ⟨ῆ⟩ς ⲇοθ⟨εί⟩σ⟨η⟩ς θείας φιλοτι/μίας καὶ {κατ'} αἴτ⟨η⟩σιν Φλ(αβίου) Ἀρσενίου/τοῦ ἐνⲇοξ(οτάτου) καὶ τὸ ἔργ(ον) τοῦ τ⟨εί⟩χο/υς ἀν⟨ε⟩νεώθη ἐν χρ(όνοις) Φλ(αβίου) Ἀνασ/τασίου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) ἄρχον/τος ἐν ἰνⲇικτ(ίωνι) Γ.

With a grant made by the divine (i.e. *imperial*) *liberality at the request of the most honourable Flavius Arsenius, the construction of the wall was repaired in the time of Flavius Anastasius, the most illustrious governor, in the third indiction.*

This is the third example of a well-known series of Beisān inscriptions, commemorating the repair of the town-wall in the first half of the sixth century. The first to come to light (here called *A*) was published by P. Germer-Durand[1] and subsequently by P. Abel.[2] It is now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, No. 36.1625 (Pl. XXXV, 7). The second (here called *B*) was found built into an Arab wall in House VII at Tell el Huṣn and has been published by G. M. FitzGerald.[3] It is at present at the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Both *A* and *B* were re-edited by J. Starr.[4] In the following discussion the present inscription is called *C*; apart from minor variations of text and spelling it agrees with *A*.[5]

The divergences between *A*, *B*, and *C* are as follows (lines as in *C*):

Line 1: *A* and *B*: ΤΗϹ, *C*: ΤΙϹ; *A* and *B*: ΔΟΘΕΙϹΗϹ, *C*: ΔΟΘΗϹΙϹ; *A* and *B*: ΘΙΑϹ, *C*: ΘΕΙΑϹ.

Line 2: *B*: ΚΑΤΑ, C: ΚΑΙ (a mistake for ΚΑΤ'), in *A* the end is broken off; *A* and *B*: ΑΙΤΗϹΙΝ, C: ΑΙΤΙϹΙΝ.

Line 3: *A*: ΤΟ Π̂ ΕΡΓ, B: ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ, *C*: ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΡΓυ; *A*: ΤΙΧ, *B* and *C*: ΤΙΧΟΥϹ.

Line 4: *A* and *B*: ΑΝΕΝΕΩΘΗ, *C*: ΑΝΑΙΝΕΩΘΗ; *A* and *B*: ΧΡ̣Ρ̣ο, *C*: ΧΡ; *A* and *C*: ΦΛˢ ΑΝΑϹΤΑϹΙΟΥ, *B*: ΦΛˢ ΛΕΟΝΤΟϹ.

Line 5: *A*: ΛΛ, *B*, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠ̣Ρ̣, *C*: ΛΑΜΠΡ.

Line 6: *A*: ΕΝ ΙΝΔ Γ, *B*: ΙΝΔˢ Α (or Δ?), C: ΕΝ ΙΝΔΙΚΤ Γ̲.

In general, *C* has a much more popular spelling (ΤΙϹ, ΔΟΘΗϹΙϹ, ΑΙΤΙϹΙΝ, ΑΝΑΙΝΕΩΘΗ); an exception is the correct ΘΕΙΑϹ while *A* and *B* have the

[1] *Échos d'Orient*, V, 1901, p. 75; XIV, 1911, p. 208.
[2] *RB*, 1911, pp. 289–90.
[3] *Beth-Shan Excavations 1921–1923*, pp. 46–7, Pl. XVIII, 2.
[4] *American Journal of Philology*, LVIII, 1937, pp. 83–4.
[5] A similar inscription including the phrase καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τοῦ τίχους is published by Cumont, *Catal. d. sculpt. & inscr., musée royal du cinquantenaire*, No. 144.

popular ΘΙΑC. Where *A* and *B* differ, *C* agrees with *B*. All the variations of spelling have numerous parallels in contemporary inscriptions.[1]

The repair of the wall, begun under one governor, was completed under another. Unfortunately the indiction number in *B* (an A or Δ) is broken off and it is, therefore, impossible to state with certainty whether Flavius Anastasius preceded Flavius Leon as governor or vice versa. Both may have served under a Flavius Arsenius, perhaps the *dux* of the united Palestine command.[2]

A (and consequently *C*) has been dated to the third indiction falling in 522–3, because a Flavius Anastasius is mentioned as *dux Arabiae* in 529 (he served in that capacity also in 533 and again in 537). It has been assumed that he was promoted from *praeses* of *Palaestina secunda* in the interval.[3]

There are several difficulties involved in that assumption. Apart from the fact that Fl. Anastasius is a very common name, we know of an Anastasius as *dux Palaestinae* in 514.[4] He may, or may not, be identical with the *dux Arabiae* in 529. Again, in or before 522, the *dux Palaestinae* was one Antipater,[5] while in the Beisān inscriptions the holder of that office is called Fl. Arsenius. This Arsenius is possibly identical with a well-known historical personage, the Samaritan Arsenius, son of Silvanus. After the Samaritan revolt of 529 Silvanus was burnt alive by the Christians of Scythopolis.[6] Arsenius, who was already an *illustris* and resided at the imperial court, was influencing the emperor against the Palestinians; his activities, however, were checked by St. Saba during his visit to the capital in 531 and Arsenius was condemned to death. He succeeded in averting the emperor's rage and was pardoned, after receiving baptism.[7] However, his fate was only postponed. He was implicated, after 542, in the fall of the patriarch Paul of Alexandria and of Rhodon, the prefect of Egypt, and was executed about that date.[8]

If Fl. Arsenius was made *dux Palaestinae* after his baptism in 531 his term of office might fall in the third indiction of 539/40; the era after the Samaritan revolt and Justinian's well-known liberality would make a repair of the walls quite probable. On the other hand it is extremely doubtful whether Justinian would after the revolt entrust the command of the troops of Palestine to an ex-Samaritan, who, besides, had a serious grievance against the population of

[1] Cp. the indices to *Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, III, Sections A and B; *American Expedition to Syria, Greek and Latin Inscriptions.*

[2] For the offices of Anastasius and Arsenius see Starr, *loc. cit.*, p. 84 and Mouterde, *loc. cit.*, p. 183.

[3] Mouterde, *ibid.*

[4] Cyrill. Scythopol., *Vita S. Sabae*, 56 (Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta*, III, p. 310).

[5] Alt, *ZDPV*, 1927, pp. 174–5. [6] Cyrill. Scythopol., *loc. cit.* 70, p. 339; Procopius, *Hist. arc.* 27.

[7] Cyrill. Scythopol., *loc. cit.* 71, p. 343.

[8] Procopius, *Hist. arc.* 27; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 381, n. 2.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM ASCALON, JERUSALEM, BEISĀN, AND HEBRON

the province. It is much more likely, therefore (if we must identify Fl. Arsenius with the Samaritan or with the *dux* of the province),[1] to assume that his term of office preceded that of Anastasius and should fall within the third indiction, 509–10. Justin I was much less bigoted than Justinian and more likely to entrust a Samaritan with a command; besides in 530 Arsenius was already an *illustris* and a senator at the capital, and his term of office in the provinces was already a thing of the past. We should therefore assign *A* and *C* provisionally to 509–10, and *B* either to 507–8 or 510–11.

The lettering of *C* is very tall and narrow; two kinds of abbreviation marks are used, a υ (after ΕΡΓυ) and a suspended small ˢ. Most of the abbreviations have no mark at all.

The last line of *A* has been variously read: μ(ον)αρχ(οῦντος) or μ(ηνός) or μ(εγαλοπρεπέστατος).[2] With the help of *C* we may now establish the correct reading: ΛΛ = λ(αμπρότατος). ΛΛ is a very rare example of the doubling of the letter to mark the superlative. ΕΝ ΙΝΔ stands for ἐν ἰνδικτίωνι, and not ἐνάτου (for the ninth) ἰνδικτιῶνος.

6. Stamp on a brick-fragment, purchased at Hebron. Now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum, No. 37.277. Dimensions: 17·6 × 17·5 cm. The matrix of the stamp has been cut in the positive, hence the impression is reversed. Pl. XXXV, 8.

ΣΟΧΟΤ = Σοχοτ.

This is the name of the Biblical Socoh, שוכו,[3] Sōkhō (סוכו) in the Mishnah.[4] The plural form Sokhot is explained by Eusebius: Σοκχώθ . . κῶμαί εἰσι δύο . . ἡ μὲν ἀνωτέρα, ἡ δὲ κατωτέρα.[5] The ruins of the twin villages are still visible at Kh. Shuweika and Kh. el Khān.

In the period of the Judaean monarchy numerous jar-handles were stamped with the seal *lam-melekh Sōkhō*.[6] We may also recall in this connexion the numerous pottery figurines and lamps found in two Roman cisterns at Beit Nattīf,[7] including lamps stamped ΖΑΝΝΥϹ[8] probably a reference to Zanoah (Kh. Zanū'; Kh. Zanū' and Kh. Shuweika are almost equidistant from Beit Nattīf, the one to north, the other to south). It appears from this brick stamp that the pottery factories of the whole Wadi es-Samt area (including Sokho) continued to function in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.

M. Avi-Yonah

[1] The whole assumption is contrary to Cod. Iustinian. 1. i, tit. xli: 'Ut nulli patriae suae administratio sine speciali principis permissu permittatur'.

[2] FitzGerald, *loc. cit.*, p. 47; Starr, *loc. cit.*, p. 83, n. 1; Germer-Durand, *ÉO*, 1901, p. 75.

[3] Jos. xv. 35; II Chr. xi. 7; xxviii. 18.

[4] Abot, 1, 3.

[5] Onom. 156, 20.

[6] D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi*, 1934, pp. 145–57.

[7] D. C. Baramki, *QDAP*, V, pp. 2–10.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 6 and n. 2.

AN ENDOWMENT DEED OF KHÂṢṢEKI SULṬÂN, DATED THE 24TH MAY 1552

I

THIS Endowment Deed [*waqfiyye*] of Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân[1] or Khâṣṣeki Khurrem [= Roxelane] is, contrary to time-honoured usage, not preserved as a roll, but bound together as a book. The original is kept in the Khâlidiyye Library,[2] Jerusalem, under MS. No. 116. Permission to publish it has been granted by the Trustee of that Library, Aḥmad Bey Sâmiḥ al-Khâlidi ad-Dairi, Principal of the Government Arab College, Jerusalem, to whom due thanks are extended for this courtesy.[3]

The document is written in the so-called *khaṭṭ-i jéli*, i.e. 'clear' [long-hand] writing. With the exception of page 4 the text is in Turkish, which is again contrary to the established rule that Endowment Deeds are set up in Arabic.

The size of the ancient chancery paper is $24\frac{1}{2} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ cm., while the written space measures $19 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ cm. Except for pp. I (*basmala*) and III (Royal Cypher of Sultan Suleiman [I] the Magnificent), which have gilt designs, all pages are written in black ink. The first page contains six lines only, while all the others have nine lines each.

The *ijâzé* (legal authorization) on page 4 is entirely in Arabic, written in the usual chancery *nes-ta'lîq*. As a rule it is placed at the beginning of the document.

More often than not the phrases are in rhymed prose, and are divided by gilt rosettes. The border is drawn in two dark lines with a gilt one between. Only on a few pages between 41 and 46 has the broad margin been used for catchwords; a scribe's remark 'embellishes' p. 38.

The language of the first third of the document abounds in Koranic quotations (and their Turkish paraphrases) and in mystical allusions as well as in expressions borrowed from religious terminology, sometimes far-fetched.

The document is either a certified Archives Copy or a draft, which in this

[1] Locally pronounced: *Khaski* (Sulṭân), or *khaskiyyé*, i.e. the *tkiyyé*.

[2] This Library has been collected from bequests made by the various members of this well-known family, whose history has been connected with that of the Holy City since the 7th century. The Library contains some 8,000 volumes (including 2,500 manuscripts) mostly on Islamic subjects. There are, besides, a good number of unique manuscripts and autographed copies, mainly on travels and history. It is open to the public.

[3] Grateful acknowledgement is due to the Director-General of Waqfs, 'Abdullah Effendi Mukhliṣ, who has very kindly permitted the publication of extracts from the final Endowment Deed from the Archives of the Waqfs Administration, which he himself had intended to publish previously.

form seems never to have reached its final stage. Apparently it was first drawn up in Turkish to enable Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân herself to read it (and to make the necessary additions and amendments), when it would be translated into Arabic and promulgated after legal approval.

The facts which suggest this are the following:

1. No Arabic counterpart of this document is known to exist.

2. The final Endowment Deed is written in Arabic and dated Middle of Sha'bân 964 [= Middle of June 1557]. It is much larger[1] and bears the signature of the requisite witnesses, whereas no signatures have been affixed to this document, nor has space even been provided for them.

3. At least in Palestine no endowment deed is ever known to have been issued in Turkish, though Letters of Patent appointing Trustees are in that language.

4. The legal authorization [*ijâzé*] merely states that the execution of the document may proceed after its legal validity has been established. It is the only part written in Arabic. The *ijâzé* usually stands at the top of legal documents, preferably in the margin on the left-hand side.

Parallels and divergences between this copy and the final form of the Endowment Deed have been referred to in the footnotes.

The transposition of the Royal Cypher from p. I to p. III may be due to faulty binding.

II

Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân was the favourite and queen of Suleimân the Magnificent, 'the Grande Turke' (1520–66), the tenth and greatest amongst the sultâns of the Ottoman dynasty. She was carried off by Tartars from her home in Rogatino in Red Russia and sold in Istanbul, where she found her way to the imperial harem. Melchior Lorch made a portrait of her, with the legend Ruziae Soldane. Her name Khurrem admits of several meanings: The joyous, the cheerful, the blossoming, the happy, and the fortunate one (and is applicable to both sexes). Yet to western authors she is known as Roxelana or Rosselane, the red-haired Russian, who with her lively charm knew how to fascinate her sultan for life.[2] Of Suleimân's ten

[1] It has 305 lines, each measuring 26 cm. (in the official copy).

[2] The Imperial Firman attached to the final Endowment Deed and dated the 29th Shawwâl 967 = 23 July 1560, enumerates some additions to the said waqf granted by Sultân Suleimân the Magnificent after the death of Roxelane and gives her the following attributes: . . . 'the quintessence of the queens amongst women, the Zobeida of her time and age . . . who is unique and to whom there is no second queen in prosperity and good luck, who is another Râbi'a [al-'adawiyya]—cf. the play upon words in this passage: *thâniyat rābi'a* with the figures 2 and 4—the mystic, with regard to renunciation of worldly desires and devotional life, she, who has entered into the mercy of Allah and

sons[1] she bore him Mehmed (whose death in 1543 marred the joy of the victory over Austria), Jahânguîr the Crooked, Selîm II (surnamed the Sot), Bayazîd (executed in 1561), and the princess Mihrmâh, the favourite daughter of Suleimân I (married to the avaricious grand-vizier Rustem Pasha). Of Selîm it may be said that he inherited some traits of his mother. All these princes were to play important rôles in the destiny of Turkey. Roxelana poisoned the mind of Suleimân I against his noble-minded son Muṣṭafâ in order to secure the succession to her own sons and managed in the long run to do away with all who stood in her path.[2] Her intrigues led the sultan into his most tragic mistakes.

Later in life she was declared to be a free woman and was formally married to the sultan. The chroniclers add that Suleimân renounced his harem and was faithful to her ever after.

Her European name, Roxelana, indicates her origin from the 'Roxolani', a people inhabiting the country between Don and Dniepr.[3] She remained the trusted adviser of Suleimân the Magnificent until her death in April 1558. Her mortal remains rest at the side of her husband in the Suleimâniyyé Mosque, Istanbul.[4]

Of her public buildings two mosques in Istanbul and Adrianople bear her name (*jâmi' Khâṣṣeki Khurrem*). Especially in the Mosque at Istanbul, where the eye embraces sixty columns at a glance, is her taste displayed. Two *medresé*'s were also attributed to her: known as *Khâṣṣeki Khurrem* and *qâhriyyé* respectively. A hospital, known as *tâb-hâné Khâṣṣeki Khurrem*, and two public baths (in the Jewish and Aya Ṣôfya quarters respectively), a public kitchen (situated in the *Awrèt pazâri*, Women's Bazaar, the former Arcadianum), are still known in Istanbul. In Mekka, too, she had a soup kitchen built near the Ka'ba under the official title of *'imâret Khâṣṣeki Khurrem.*

The *Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân Building*, here known as *it-tkiyye*[5] (the Arabic loan-word from the Turkish *tekké*), is situated on the southern side of a lane climbing

reached it, the mother of the joy of the eternal sultanate . . . and the light of the eye of the resplendent caliphate, the sultân Selim—may Allah illuminate her resting-place and her grave, and may He grant eternal life to her husband, her son, and her daughter. . . .'

[1] Cf. J. Von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 1828, Vol. III, p. 792.

[2] So, e.g., the grand viziers Ibrahim Pasha (executed 15 March 1536), an intimate friend of Suleimân the Magnificent, and Ahmed Pasha (executed 28 September 1555); both references taken from Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 793.

[3] The Turkish sources differ as to her father's status: some call him a village priest, others make him a bishop.

[4] The total cost of the construction of this magnificent mosque was 700,000 ducats.

[5] Whereas the Turkish *tekké* indicates a kind of monastery for dervishes, the word *tkiyye* [rarely *takya*] in the dialect of Jerusalem denotes a public kitchen. Offices favouring nepotism are compared in common parlance to a *tkiyye*.

up the hill, from the Bâb en-Nâẓir[1] of the Ḥaram Enclosure to the Street called after the Khân ez-Zeit. This lane is known by several names, such as *ʿAq[a]bet at-tkiyyé* (the ascent of the T.), or: *ʿAq[a]bet as-Sitt*, i.e. Tunshuq al-Muẓaffariyya (whose main building, *ad-dâr al-kubra*, also known as *Dâr as-Sitt* [= the main House; or, the House of the Lady] lies on that lane). There is still another name applied to this lane by local Christians: *ʿAq[a]bet al-Malika Hilâne* after Queen Helena,[2] who is said to have built the pilgrims' hospice which originally stood on the site of this building complex.

Mujîru-d-Dîn in his *Chronicle* (Bûlâq, 1283 (1166)), pp. 125 ff., calls this lane *ʿAqabat as-Sûdân* (Ascent of the Sudanese) probably after the heirs of as-Sitt Tunshuq al-Muẓaffariyya, who in 1382 bequeathed part of her waqfs to her Sudanese slaves.[3]

While the buildings ascribed to Tunshuq al-Muẓaffariyya still show many vestiges of medieval architecture, the complex known after Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân dates mainly from the Turkish period. There are three groups of buildings, lying north, south, and east of a spacious courtyard; the side adjoins the Dâr al-Kubra of Tunshuq al-Muẓaffariyya, now used as the Moslem Orphanage. Parts of the building have been adapted as living-rooms by Moslem families, who have occupied them for generations.[4] The greater part serves as an annex to the Moslem orphanage. The kitchen and bakery are still in use, but the Khân and stables have probably been converted to some other use. At least they are no more recognizable as such.

The Supreme Moslem Council with the General Direction of Awqâf are the executors of the bequest.

III

The following details hold good for the waqf institutions in Syria and Palestine and are additional to those in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. *Waqf* (pl. *awqâf*) and *ḥabs* (pl. *ḥubûs*) are interchangeable technical terms denoting any endowment or pious foundation, generally immovable property, which, once endowed, is irrevocable and inalienable. But the term stands also for the act of instituting such an endowment. The term signifying the mainly

[1] Offices of the Superintendent of the two Sanctuaries [*nâẓiru-l-ḥaramain ash-sharîfain*] were situated in the compound above the said Gate, occupied for years by the Supreme Moslem Council.

[2] Cf. Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, Vol. I, p. 200. The word *ḥâra* for *darb* or *ṭarîq* is no longer used.

[3] This *waqfiyya* is in the Sherîʿa Court at Damascus. It consists of five documents dated between 2 December 1379 and 17 July 1382.

[4] Similarly a good number of former colleges (*madâris*) in and around the Ḥaram area have been occupied for centuries by certain families, who have adapted the buildings as dwellings.

religious purpose of a waqf is thus stated to be 'seeking the pleasure of Allah' (*taqarruban li-wajhi-llâhi ta'âla*).

The institution itself is indicated by clear definitions, where unmistakable verbs are used, such as *waqafa*, *ḥa*[*b*]*basa*, *ḥarrama*, *sabbala*, and *abbada*.[1] *Sabbala* is derived from the phrase *fi sabîli-llâh* (i.e. for God's sake, *or*, for His service, but *not* in His way or path), while *abbada* defines the institution of the endowment as perpetual.

Waqfs may be of two kinds: *khairi*, i.e. charitable, and *dhurri* or *ahli*, i.e. for the descendants and relatives of the endowing person (*al-wâqif*). At any rate the endowment is as binding as the *shar'* provisions: *sharṭu-l-wâqifi ka-haṣṣi ḥukmi-sh-shâri'i* (The stipulations of the endowing persons are [legally as valid] as the precepts of the law-giver, here: God or the Prophet himself).

Originally, Moslem legislators had recourse to the laws in force in the conquered countries and amended them (in this connexion) to suit the changed conditions imposed by Islâm, though, admittedly on the authority of a *ḥadîth ṣaḥîḥ* (well-supported and authenticated tradition), the Prophet gave 'Umar the advice to 'set aside the substance of the property of the endower and to spend the yield' (*ḥabsu-l-'ain 'ala mulki-l-wâqif wa-taṣadduqi-l-manfa'a*). The *waqf khairi* may be a mosque, a *madrasa*, a hospital (*mâristân*), a caravanserai, a public bath, a bakery, a mill, an oil-press, a soap factory, or even a bridge. Its administration lay in the hands of the *qâḍi* and other trustees as a safeguard against misuse. The endower, however, was himself administrator during his lifetime.

The prima-facie purpose of an endowment was, as in the present case, the purely religious desire to please Allah by an act of piety. Property endowed for the benefit of one's relatives and descendants was comparatively secure from the greed of the authorities and ensured at least a modest income. Yet the desire to safeguard the rights and property of the offspring became so general and led to so substantial a reduction in the public revenues that wholesale confiscations of *awqâf* were not unusual. Indeed the economic situation gave some justification for this measure. One may even say that the waqf system was one of the main causes of the economic decline of the Near East.[2]

The trustee (*nâẓir*, *qayyim*, *mutawalli*) was appointed and paid in accordance with a *berât* (Letter of Patent), wherein he was warned that he could be dis-

[1] Cf. in this connexion the introduction to the final document of the Endowment Deed of as-Sitt Tunshuq bint 'Abdullâhi-l-Muẓaffariyya dated the 5th Jumâda I 784 [= 17 July 1382], the original of which is in the Archives of the Awqâf Directorate in Jerusalem.

[2] According to *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. V, 1925, p. 8, the *awqâf* in the former Turkish Empire were estimated at three-quarters of the whole arable land (Christian and Jewish *awqâf* being included, though forming only a small part of it).

missed if he misused his office.[1] The granting of such a *berât* (pl.: *berâvât*) for the appointment of a trustee was subject to a *maẓbaṭa* (protocol) submitted by the local administrative council (and recommended by the local official in charge of *awqâf*) to the *qâḍi*, on whose written order [= *i'lâm*] or 'information' the Ministry of Awqâf acted when issuing the imperial Letter of Appointment. The dismissal of the trustee could be effected by an order of the court for certain offences likely to prove detrimental to the proper maintenance of the endowment.

The revenues of the waqf of Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân in Palestine were expropriated by Muḥammad 'Alî in 1831. Nor did they revert to waqf possession when Turkey regained Syria and Palestine ten years later. To remedy the anomaly the Ottoman administration commuted the revenues of the Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân waqf at a fixed annual charge of £T1150, while the Government of Palestine pays £P2950 a year as a grant towards the upkeep of the waqf.

For some time the administration of the waqfs was in the hand of the eldest member of the Jûdeh branch of the Ḥuseini family. The Turkish Government took over the administration when one of the trustees was a minor. The Supreme Moslem Council continued the precedent created by the Turkish Government. They have now re-employed certain trustees from well-known local families for part services only.

IV

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate [2] I, 1

Exceeding praise and appropriate thanks be to Him, the Lord of earthly and spiritual dominion,[3] the Lord of Glory, the sum of Divine Attributes,[4] Who has caused the human tissue to take on a most wonderful form, and has created it in the most symmetrical shape; Who has taught us the way of earning

[1] Cf. the following passage from a *Berât* issued by Sultan Vahîdeddin to a member of the Mardam Bey family in Damascus: '. . . and that in case of abandoning or negligence of duty he should be dismissed from office and the post be given to someone else . . .' (*Berât* dated 15 August 1916 = 15th Shawwâl 1334). Yet this stipulation was an ancient one, as may be proved by a similar passage in the Endowment Deed of Mehmed II, the Conqueror, published by Tahsin Öz in *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II. Fatih*, Istanbul, 1935, p. 144, where the passage runs: . . . 'if their integrity is proven, they may be left in their posts, yet if his (!) defalcation becomes evident he will be replaced by another trustee.'

[2] The *Basmala* is written in 'white' on a gold background, with floral designs in blue, green, red, and 'white'; the latter being another shade of the 'creamy' colour of the chancery paper.

[3] *mâliku-l-mulki wa-l-malakût* (Daniel ii. 37) expresses unlimited temporal and spiritual sovereignty.

[4] *rabbu-l-'izzi wa-l-jabarût*; both *malakût* and *jabarût* are early Aramaic loan-words.

5 our means of subsistence and instructed us in the paths of His Wisdom, making us a worthy caliph of the world[1] and competent in the knowledge of the Lord of the Universe;

II, 1 and thousands of unlimited prayers and innumerable salutations of all kinds be on him, the Apostle and Prophet,[2] the leader of prophets and apostles, the model of the ancient and modern,[3] the most pre-eminent of mankind, the intercessor on the Day of Judgement[4]—who has a laudable position,[5] and of 5 whose water all blessed shall drink—[6] I mean Muḥammad, the Elected—may Allah commend and salute him—who, by the shining lights of the luminous Sherî'a, has caused the darkness of error to vanish; and who successfully has shown the road to Paradise to all mankind;[7]

And also [prayers be] on the large tree of his family and the noble Companions, each of whom is a star in the constellation of [pure] religion,[8] and a glittering star in the apogee of the real knowledge of true religion,[9] may Allah—exalted be He—be pleased with all of them;

III [The Royal Cypher of Sultan Suleimân the Magnificent]:
Suleimân Khân, son of Sulṭân Selîm Khân, the ever Victorious one.[10]

IV [Arabic text in *nes-ta'lîq*]
Praise be to Allah, Who helps the Truth to come to light![11]

Whatever has been written in this legally valid paper and the beautiful[ly drawn up] document, to wit, the establishment of the endowment, the setting forth of the relevant conditions, the details of expenditure as stated therein, has been signed and dealt with before me.

1 Many allusions to Koranic passages are met with in similar documents. This passage is a Turkish translation of a phrase occurring nine times, the best known being that of Sûra x, verse 14.

2 Lit.: 'The Holder of the Office of Apostle and the "Seat" of Prophetic Mission.'

3 Lit.: 'the first and the last ones', i.e. those who have preceded and those who are to succeed.

4 The Persian *rûz-i maḥ-shèr* for the Arabic *yaumu-l-ḥashr*.

5 This so-called *maqâm-i maḥmûd* is the part rather than the place assigned to the Prophet with regard to his intercession in favour of all prophets and saints on the Day of Judgement.

6 *Ṣâḥib-i ḥavz-i mevrûd*, 'the owner of the frequented water tank', alluding to the traditional *ḥavz er-resûl* (Tank of the Apostle) in Paradise, of which all blessed will drink on the Day of Judgement.

7 *Dâru-s-salâma*: Paradise (lit.: 'the abode of safety'), in contradistinction to the 'House of Affliction', *dâru-l-ibtilâ'*.

8 *Nijm-i burj-i dîn*; *burj* = zodiacal sign.

9 This is the religious certitude based on divine revelation, and quite apart from the esoteric 'knowledge' transmitted by oral tradition, which is traced to the Prophet by a chain of authorities ending with 'Ali, his son-in-law, to whom all Derwish fraternities trace their origin.

10 For full bibliography on the subject see the article '*ṭughrâ*' in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 822 ff. This Royal Cypher contains, as it were, twice the word *khân*, usually applied only for the reigning sultan.

11 *Muḥiqqu-l-ḥaqq*, also: who causes truth (or: right) to triumph finally, or: who upholds truth, etc.

I have given judgement with regard to its legal validity, in order that action may be taken accordingly both in major and minor matters. My sentence was thereby based on the Sherî'a as set forth and expounded in the canonical books.[1] It has been endorsed on the present document after I have taken full knowledge of the diverging opinions of the noble authorities[2]—may Allah be pleased with all of them as well as with me, the poor servant of Allah, to Whom be praise and Whose indulgence I expect, Ja'far b. 'Alî, the Qâḍî of the Victorious Army in the flourishing Province of Asia Minor.[3]

May Allah, exalted be He, make both of us obtain indulgence through his favour and grace![4]

[Marginal note in Arabic]

Action should be taken [accordingly] when [this Document] is proved to be consistent with the Sherî'a Law. May His servant, the poor Abu-s-Su'ûd, be granted indulgence.[5]

[Turkish text.]

After [offering due praise to Allah][6]—it is neither hidden nor a secret to V, 1
reasoning, understanding people, endowed with knowledge and intellect (or: judgement)[7] that the cause of creating mankind,[8] the reason of bringing intellectual beings into existence, is the adoration of the Creator of mankind and the knowledge of the mysteries of life and resurrection, as well as the attaining 5
of eternal life and obtaining everlasting bliss, until, this transient existence and

[1] Lit.: the canons of the noble Sherî'a.

[2] This clause should be appended to every Sherî'a Judgement, as the Judge is bound to pronounce his sentence only in accordance with the tenets of the system (*madh-hab*, 'school') followed by him. The school of Abu Ḥanîfa (whose shrine is in al-Mu'aẓẓamiyya, the northern suburb of Baghdâd) was the official system in Turkey. Cf. n. 1, p. 194.

[3] Of the two qâḍi's mentioned under this name in *ash-shaqâ'iq an-nu'mâniyya*, Vol. II, the teacher of the imperial prince Bayazîd, son of Suleimân I, is more probably the judge who passed this sentence. Ja'far [b. 'Alî] of Mentesha died in A.H. 964 [= 1557] whilst on his pilgrimage. The biographer states that he was of an upright character. *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

[4] 'Both of us' means the writer and his father; cf. Sûra xvii. 25.

[5] Abu-s-Su'ûd b. Muḥyiddîn Muḥammad al-'Amâdī (of 'Amâdiyya, north of Môṣul) was an eminent Ottoman lawyer (of Kurdish descent) and a famous exegete as well. He was the Sheikhu-l-Islâm and was the author of the *qânun-nâmé* (Code) of Suleimân the Magnificent, who is known to Orientals as Suleimân *al-qânûni* (the Codifier of law). Abu-s-Su'ûd is one of the most outstanding personalities and men of letters whom Turkey ever produced. He lived from 1490 to 1574. Many documents and fetwâs still bear his name. His death was sincerely mourned by Sultan Selim II.

[6] This is the original meaning of *ba'dehu* or the Arabic *amma ba'd*.

[7] Most of the following Turkish terms are taken from the Ṣûfi vocabulary and are translated literally.

[8] *efrâd ve khalāyiq*: individuals as well as humanity at large; or: mankind and the created universe.

wearisome road once ended, man receives everything according to his own desert or according to destiny (!), and perceives an unending ray from the
VI, 1 light of existence, obtaining a gift of eternal duration (when one) perceives (finally) that this world will disappear into the abyss of nothingness and the deserts of annihilation.

Therefore it is evident that the bounden duty of every intelligent person is to
5 consider thoughtfully the course of events and to view the details of life's beginning and end with the utmost care before he withers and fades away, and to praise the only God, the absolute overflowing One, Whose wonderful graces are manifold and Whose lovingkindness is all-embracing, Who is the refuge of the world, and Who has abundantly bestowed [on us] the tables of riches, bounty, and flowing grace.

VII, 1 As long as the gates of true knowledge are open and the paths of firm belief are clear, one should study and observe, and as long as the infinite secrets and real truths exist and are apparent in the form in which they are known; as long as the light of persons and facts is pictured on the leaf (flying) in the wind,
5 since the plane of this world is fixed to no ground, being the unreal existence of matter and the index to the books of eternity as well as the sample of the world to come.

In this transitory life we await an early departure. Here each man's good
VIII, 1 deeds and visible acts are performed to be summed up in the world to come. They are but a reflection of their lasting prototype. Only people with a sound insight and a straightforward character should, as much as in them lies, direct their ability to the good and endeavour to form godly habits and to complete
5 their human knowledge. They should openly endeavour to perform good deeds, attain the goal of their hearts through pious actions, and appear in the robes of (religious) knowledge and perfection,[1] [so] that they may appear comely on the Day of Judgement, and partake of eternal bliss, joy, and pleasure in Paradise.

IX, 1 It is for these clear facts and necessary premisses that the pearl in the wreath of grandeur and majesty, the lucky forelock of happiness and felicity, the queen of queens, she who is of angelic dispositions, the sublime felicitous one,
5 the beautiful person of ideal qualities, the highest of moral reputation among Moslem men and women, the quintessence of highly respected and the chief of the venerated females, the 'Āyisha[2] of her times, the 'source'[3] of a flourish-

[1] This is a reference to the common belief that the good deeds would on the Day of Judgement enwrap their perpetrator 'like a cloak'.

[2] 'Āyisha, the favourite wife of the Prophet, was one of the foremost authorities in *ḥadīth* (Tradition).

[3] *maṭla'* rise (cf. Sûra xcvii. 5 *ḥatta maṭla'i-l-fajr*).

ing sultanate, the shell[1] of the pearls of the glorious califate—she who is especially adapted by the many kindnesses of the Eternal King, the mother- X, 1
sultan of Emir Mehmed,[2] son of the most felicitous and grand sultan and the most glorious and illustrious emperor, the holder of the great office of imâm,[3] 5
the accomplished sultan, who inherited the grand califate from father to son; the upholder of the shining religion, the expounder of the wonders of the pure Sherî'a, the subduer of Pharaohs and giants, who causes the faces of kings and sovereigns to grow pale; the lion of the battle-fields, the conqueror of the regions of sea and land, both east and west; he, who arranges well and solidly XI, 1
the carpet of peace and war; the trenchant and sharp sabre, the hero, the great and generous prince, the lord of the kingdoms of the earth; the deep shade of Allah [reflected] on all nations; the humiliator of emperors, the all-subduing hero and eminent prince, the sultan of all [mankind],[4] the sultan of the eastern and western parts of the world, the emperor of the four cardinal points, the sultan, son of the sultan, the sultan Suleimân Khân [I],[5] may Allah— 5
exalted be He—perpetuate the days of his flourishing califate and the years of his victorious reign, as long as days and years succeed each other; and may He spread his just rule over the four quarters of the inhabited world,[6] and guard XII, 1
him with an unsleeping eye wherever he stays and stands, support him with

1 So termed because she was the mother of the heir-presumptive.

2 He was the first-born of Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân but had three elder half-brothers (from a Georgian sultana). He was born on 29 January 1523 (during the siege of Rhodes). Cf. v. Hammer, *op. cit.*, III. 31. Died 6 November 1543.

3 The Turkish sultan is *ex officio* the first imâm of Islâm. Within a few years after the conquest of Egypt he was considered the rightful calif.

The Arabic endowment deed mentions the sultan three times as calif (once as the most courageous of califs), the Turkish only twice (see above). Abu-s-Su'ûd al-'Amâdī, the then Shaikhu-l-Islâm, repeatedly mentions him in his writings as calif. Turkish contemporary sources also testify to this fact, such as the Turkish biographer Aḥmed Tashköprü-Zâdé (ob. 1560)—vide *wafayâtu-l-a'yân*, I. 66—the historian 'Ali Minno (ob. 1584) in his supplement to *wafayâtu-l-a'yân*, Vol. II, p. 296, as well as the historian al-Qaramânī (ob. 1610) in his chronicle *akhbâru-d-duwal*, p. 295.

4 *Sultân-i 'arab ve 'ajem ve rûm* is a phrase similar to that of Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians (cf. *QDAP*, II, p. 28). *Rûm*, Romaeans, Byzantines, stands for the rest of the sultan's subjects, especially 'Turks' of Asia Minor. In this connexion the phrase has, however, a political significance, claiming lordship over all these nationalities in Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and elsewhere. His wars against Shî'ite Persia were partly caused by such aspirations.

5 This enumeration of the predecessors stresses the undisputed legal claims and the birthright of the sultan to both the throne and the califate.

6 'The habitable quarter of the earth's surface', the Greek *oikouméne*. A good number of administrative expressions, technical terms, *epitheta ornantia*, and redundant titles were borrowed by the Turks from the Byzantines, to say nothing of the many Byzantine institutions which the Turks left unchanged. Cf. Clay, *Amurru*, p. 194, for a very early use of the expression 'four corners of the world', and Isaiah xii. 11.

His holy angels of victory wherever he goes and travels,[1] and keep his progeny —guarded against calamities and afflictions—[2] until the Day of Resurrection.
5 May He double true happiness for him and rightly guide him to consider the actions of his glorious conduct with an appropriate mind and a sound judgement.

The Creator of the Universe—exalted be His great favours and honoured be His most comely Names[3]—has from the very beginning distinguished her Majesty for sublime favours, and created and formed her for admirable deeds,
XIII, 1 implanted in her a high moral disposition and endowed her with excellent qualities, thus enabling her to bring forth later on the hidden virtues from behind a veiled canopy, in order that they may be publicly known, to acquire laudable moral qualities, and to perfect them with a sound knowledge which
5 accomplishes her illustrious attributes. Yea, Allah ordained that she should be brought up in the shadow of the magnificent sultanate and in the *Harem* of the resplendent califate,[4] thus bestowing upon her all kinds of graces, both apparent and hidden, as well as bounteous blessings and gifts, so much so that
XIV, 1 the pavilion of her grandeur and felicity reaches with 'her' crowned head to the stars [Ursae minoris], and her glorious majesty touches the highest sky.[5]

[Her Majesty] having seen and beheld these endless graces and boundless favours bestowed upon her, and out of gratefulness therefor and in com-
5 pliance with the noble content of the holy verse:[6] 'Do good, as Allah has done good unto you', unlocked the cupboards of favours and gifts and opened the doors of unlimited kindness to mankind at large, pouring out bounteous gifts and favours in abundance; thus both people of distinction and mankind at
XV, 1 large were nurtured by her favours. Her aim thereby was that people should benefit by her kindnesses, which—in order to procure her eternal bliss—were granted freely and were intended to be perpetual as days wear into months and years into ages, and that no disorder should befall them, so that her prosperity and luck should continue unchanged to the end of time.

[1] For a similar expression cf., *inter alia*, two firmâns of the Mamluk sultan Faraj (issued for him by the generalissimo Taghribirdi), dated the 18th Rabîʿ I and 24th Rabîʿ II 824 [=23 March 1421 and 28 April 1421] respectively, where at the end of the documents the phrase *w-allahu taʿâla yu-'ayyiduhu bi-l-malâ'ik* (. . . may Allah, exalted be He, help you (!) through His Angels [sc. in carrying out the injunctions of this firmân]).

[2] Lit.: *min raibi-l-manûn, ila yaumin yubʿathûn*, 'from the vicissitude of death, until the day when they would be restored to life'. See Sûra vii. 13; xv. 36; xxxviii. 79; xxiii. 16 and 101; xxvi. 37.

[3] *asmâ'u-llâhi-l-ḥusna*, being ninety-nine, are usually recited with a rosary. See Sûra vii. 179; xvii. 110; xx. 7; lix. 24.

[4] 'Shadow' expresses here 'protection' as in Psalm xci. 1. Sultanate and califate indicate in this connexion the person rather than the office of the holder.

[5] Lit.: 'the dome of the heavenly sphere.'

[6] Sûra xxviii. 77.

Her Majesty, having abandoned the desires of this world and abhorred its vanities, has had her most illustrious endeavours directed towards the most 5 elevated stations[1] and goal of the most sublime intentions,[2] wishing to attain hereafter the highest heavens as reward, [3 lines omitted] while the vestiges of XVI, 1 her devoutness should not be discontinued, nor her graceful behests abandoned, but that her legacies of kindnesses should continue to be firmly established and the traces of her gifts remain to the poor for constant use. She 5 therefore emulates the exalted precedent set as a fine custom by Abraham, the Friend of Allah,[3] the praiseworthy prophet[4]—may Allah, the Glorious, be graciously disposed towards him—whose carpet of prosperity[5] was spread for comers and goers . . . [5 lines omitted].

[Now], in order that her illustrious property may be eternal, and founded on XVII, 4 the pillars of pious deeds and built by good actions, she . . . [3 lines omitted] set down in conformity with [legal] restrictions and stipulations, in order [?] to withstand the vicissitudes of time and the changes of the course of ages [*dawarân*], so that it should not be subject to the disorder of transient events, XVIII, 1 [2 lines omitted] while wishing to enregister the details of *awqâf* minutely, to 5 comply strictly with its stipulations and requirements, and to fulfil them, has appointed as general representative of her noble self His Excellency, [4 lines omitted] who is admitted to the very exalted Imperial Presence, the Grandee XIX, 2 of the sublime Imperial Realm, who is especially adapted by the grace of the Noble King, Ja'far, son of 'Abdu-r-Raḥîm[6]—may Allah, exalted be He, per- 5 petuate his glory and prosperity, and may He associate his aspirations and desires with success. [She has given him] an unrestricted, unconditional general Power of Attorney and a certain, complete [legal] substitution,[7] the validity of which was formally established on the witness of the two very illustrious and eminent personages, and who are especially adapted by the XX, 1 grace of the King of Succour,[8] [i.e.] the Chief Store Keeper Ya'qûb Agha bin

[1] i.e. eternal bliss in heaven.

[2] Again a parallel expression to the preceding one, amplified by the next phrase. This redundancy is part and parcel of the inflated bombastic style of the period.

[3] Cf. for this expression Sûra iv. 124. [4] He is considered by the Moslems as a Prophet.

[5] This is, like so many other Moslem legends, traceable to Midrashic and Haggadic sources. Cf. the expression 'carpet' for 'company' in *bisâṭ Aḥmadi*, i.e. informal; but it is used in this connexion in the sense of R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes*, I. 85 b, bottom.

[6] These are the names of the fathers created *ad hoc*, in order to conceal their Christian origin. The names here have been arranged to conform to the preceding and following rhymes; usually 'Abdullah alone is used for the 'Moslem name' of non-Moslem fathers.

[7] *niyâbat muḥaqqaqa tâmma.*

[8] The usual form is *al-Maliku-l-mu'în*, the succour-giving King; but *al-musta'ân* (He, Whose succour is sought) had to be inserted instead for the sake of the rhyme of the following names.

ʿAbdu-r-Raḥmân, and the Head Butler Yaʿqûb Agha bin ʿAbdu-l-Ḥannân —may Allah, exalted be He, perpetuate their prosperity and cause their lives
5 to end by good deeds.[1] [Both of them gave] a legally valid declaration and a clear acceptable admission.[2]

The afore-mentioned illustrious Mandator—may she rejoice in this world and in that one to come—wishing to be counted amongst those believers of
XXI, 1 laudable actions and to enter their order—and on the injunction of the Grand Qur'ân and the Noble Book [wherein the verse runs]: 'Only he repaireth the Mosques of Allah, who believeth in Allah and in the Last Day',[3] as well as in consideration of the noble Tradition [stating that] 'Whosoever builds a mosque for Allah, shall have a house built unto him by Allah in Paradise',[4] which contains a noble and cherished promise, has built in the protected and holy [town of] Jerusalem—may it be encompassed by the grace of Allah,
XXI, 5 exalted and blessed be He—a well-founded edifice with strongly built[5] pillars, a lofty vaulted *mosque*, and a high praying-place with firm domes and has endowed it to those Moslems who would observe [there] the prescribed prayers and continue the desirable devotion.

XXII, 1 Seeking the pleasure of Allah, she has gratuitously[6] built and embellished (near the Ḥaram esh-Sherîf area) [a building] with fifty-five doors [opening] to high-domed rooms and pleasant dwelling-places of firm structure and strong construction. She has set them aside for [the use of] those devotees who dwell in the holy precincts[7] and for those pious faithful, who follow the orthodox practice of the traditional law and continue to lead a life of obedience to it,
5 who cling to the rope of sacred law,[8] those god-fearing monotheistic people [*muwaḥḥidîn*][9] who assiduously attend the devotional prayers. She has en-

[1] It is only too natural to wish to die 'in the odour of sanctity'. A different matter from this *khutimāt bi-ṣ-ṣâliḥâti aʿmâluhu* (used expressly for a Moslem) is the more significant *khutimât ʿâqibatuhu bi-l-khair* (wishing a Christian or Jew to die as a Mohammedan), 'may his end be good'.

[2] i.e. that the general representative of Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân combined in his person all requisite conditions of a sane and faithful Moslem, according to the prescriptions of the Sherîʿa Law.

[3] Sûra ix. 18. The verb *yaʿmuru* stands for 'building', repairing', and 'frequenting'.

[4] A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition musulmane*, I. 221, mentions this *ḥadîth* not less than thirty-six times.

[5] Alluding to Sûra ix. 110.

[6] *ḥisbatal-li-llâhi taʿâla.* Lit.: for the sake of Allah.

[7] *mujâwirîn* are those people who *yujâwirûn*, i.e. for pious purposes dwell 'in the neighbourhood' of some saint, or, more often, who live a devotional life for a stretch of time in the sanctuaries of Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, or other famous shrines of Islam (Shîʿa not excluded).

[8] This phrase has been construed with elements and ideas borrowed from several Koranic passages, notably Sûra iii. 103.

[9] *Muwaḥḥidîn*, 'Unitarians' is the only term by which the Druzes in their writings denote their own sect.

dowed them with it in order that they, dwelling there, may both in the early morning and the late afternoon[1] busy themselves with offering prayers [for the spiritual benefit] of the eminent endowing lady.

Near this noble Mosque, connected with the said rooms, she caused a public building of good structure to be erected, [consisting of] an enclosure[2] and XXIII, 1
several roof[ed building]s,[3] of high construction with a spacious courtyard—
a source of abundant favours[4]—and beside it an exquisite model of a [public] 5
kitchen,[5] a bakery, a cellar, a woodshed, privies, a room for provisions [or: refectory],[6] and a store room—containing many gifts.[4]

She has set them aside [for the use of] the poor and needy [= dervishes], the weak and the distressed. In the vicinity she has also caused a clean and fine caravanserai to be built,[7] as well as a spacious and tidy stable for the use of travellers and those who alight and arrive [from a journey], for the wayfarers, XXIV, 1
and in general for all those who travel and journey.

The illustrious bequeathing lady of sublime position, wishing the said beauti- 5
ful pious foundations and exceedingly benevolent institutions to remain and endure and be of permanent and continual existence together with the objects and requisites, equipments and appurtenances, has set aside for their maintenance the revenues from:[8]

(*a*) the *village of Amyûn*,[9] situated in the sub-district of Kûra, within the XXV, 1
district of the protected town of Tripoli,[10] [which she owns as] a landed estate in freehold by a Royal Patent, as valid property [received as] an imperial gift with explicit evident right, [the Imperial Deed of Possession, containing boundaries and marks set out therein in a lucid and auspicious manner and written in details in the Royal Letter of Patent, which boundaries and marks

1 This, too, is a quotation from a beautiful passage of Sûra xxiv. 36, describing devotees praying in mosques.

2 Strictly speaking, no 'enclosing wall' [= *maḥûṭa*] is now visible, though the building is contiguous with those on the same line. Only one entrance is at present used.

3 *musaqqafât* are either the buildings proper as distinguished from the ground they stand on, or house property in general. House and land tax was under the Turkish rule *musaqqafât vergisi*.

4 These phrases are expletives, not connected with the sense of the context but inserted by the scribe, who affected the florid style of the period.

5 The *'imâret*, public soup kitchen, is in the building adjoining the road leading to the Haram area.

6 *ma'kal* and *mashrab* stand usually for food and drink; *ma'kal* in the sense of refectory is not readily understood. The Arabic versions of John vi. 56 use these words for *cibus* and *potus*.

7 The fourth door from the present main entrance to the public kitchen (known as *tkiyye*) is higher up the lane and opens to a stable with a barrel-vault. Yet it is not certain whether this is the one mentioned.

8 In the following footnotes quotations made from the Arabic Waqfiyye are indicated by a capital italicized *W*.

9 *W*: adding the farm Qaiqabeh near by.

10 The Turks applied this term to nearly all large towns.

are well known to people of esteem and famous (sc. so that they need no further definition)];[1]

[1] Here the Arabic Waqfiyye inserts the following additional villages, places and farms, buildings and shares set aside by Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân for the same purpose:

i. The whole village [now: town] of Lydda, near Ramleh.

ii. One share out of ten in the village of el-Jîb, i.e. two thousand and five hundred dirhem. Map reference: Palestine Exploration Map, Sheet XVII. Ms.

iii. The whole of two baths on a lane, leading to the Bâb el-Ghawânimeh, the north-western gate of the Ḥaram enclosure. One of these is now no more to be identified. The other, having become disused, was sold in the latter half of the 19th century to the Armenian Catholics, who built a church on the site and reused part of the building of the former *Ḥammâm as-Sulṭân* (a name still clinging to the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate at the Third and Fourth Station of the Via Dolorosa), bought from the Khâlidi family. Cf. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. XIII (1933), pp. 238 ff. It is a *ḥikr* bought from the Khâlidiyya *awqâf*.

iv. The whole of the village of Beit Iksa (Sheet XVII. Mt) together with the farm of el-Kharrûbeh (Sheet XVII. Js).

v. Eighteen out of twenty-four shares in the village of Kafr Jinnis (Sheet XVII. Ir).

vi. The whole village of Kafr ʿÂna (Sheet XIII. Iq) and the farm of Kafr Ṭâb [east of al-Kanîsa (xi) as mentioned below].

vii. The whole village of Buqaiʿ ad-Dân (Sheet XVII. Mt?) and the Buqaiʿ al-ʿArnîn lands.

viii. The whole village of Beit Liqya (Sheet XVII. Ks) with the farms Beit Nûshif (?) and Rukûbîs (?).

ix. All the [imperial] share owned in Bethlehem, i.e. eighteen out of twenty-four.

x. All the [imperial] share owned in Beit Jâla (Sheet XVII. Mu), i.e. 18/24ths, together with the lands known as Khallet el-Jôz and Ras el-Ḥaniyye within the boundaries of Beit Jâla.

xi. The whole village of al-Kanîsa in the Ramleh sub-district (Sheet XVII. Js).

xii. The whole village of Bîr[im] Maʿîn (Sheet XVII. Ks).

xiii. All the [imperial] share in the village of Subtâra in the coastal plain., i.e. 12/24ths.

xiv. The whole village of ʿAnnâbeh (Sheet XVII. Js).

xv. All the [imperial] share in the village of Sâfiriyya (Sheet XIII. Ir), i.e. 20/24ths.

xvi. The whole village of Kharabta [i.e. little ruin] (Sheet XIV. Lr). . . . Bounded on the north by lands of Deir ʿAmmār . . .

xvii. All the [imperial] shares in Jindâs, i.e. seven out of twenty-four (Sheet XIII. Ir).

xviii. The whole village of Yâzûr (Sheet XIII. Hq).

xix. The whole village of al-Yahûdiyya [alias al-ʿAbbâsiyya at present] (Sheet XIII. Iq).

xx. All the share in the village of Beit Dajan (Sheet XIII. Hq), i.e. eighteen full shares out of twenty-four and a third of a share.

xxi. The whole village of Beit Shenna (Sheet XVII. Js).

xxii. The whole village of Rantiyye (Sheet XIII. Iq).

xxiii. All the [imperial] share in the village of Naʿlîn (Sheet XIV. Kr), i.e. 18/24ths.

xxiv. The whole village of Qâqûn (Sheet XI. Jm) with the farm Deir Sallâm and one-fourth of the farm Heithânet el-Jammâsîn in the region of Benî Ṣaʿb (Ṭulkarm sub-district).

Additional Endowments made by Suleimân I on 29 Shawwâl 967 [= 23. 7. 1567] include (*a*) all the [imperial] share in the tithes of Ḥâr village, i.e. 3830 dirhem; (*b*) all the [imperial] share in the farm of al-Kanîsa, i.e. 19/24ths; (*c*) and (*d*) the whole of the two farms Ṣûfiyya and Jalbûne [= ? Jalyûbe], all situated in the sub-district of Sidon.

(*b*) the *caravanserai*[1] situated in the quarter of Sheikh Ṭutmâj[2] (one of the quarters of the said protected town), the boundaries of which are: a public road to the south, a public road and the bank of the river Qalîṭa[3] to the east; a public road and the Sea Gate to the north, and a public road to the west, at 5 the end of which it is situated;

(*c*) and the *shops* contiguous with it;

(*d*) and a *plot of land* (not planted with trees);

(*e*) and a vaulted market [*qîsâriyya*] in the selfsame protected city, situated in the quarter of Khân el-ʿEdêmi, with the public road to the south, and the said Khân el-ʿEdêmi to the east, and an orange grove[4] to the XXVI, 1 north, whilst it ends in the west at the public road and the bank of the river Qalîṭa;

(*f*) and the soap factory[5] known under the name of Saʿdiyya, situated in the Zuhûr Quarter of the selfsame protected town, the boundaries of which are the mosque(!) of the Samaritans[6] in the south, and the ditch of the Sulṭân's Mill in the east together with the garden of Ibn Qubayya; to the north the houses 5 of ʿAjem Baba[7] Kemâl and to the west the houses of the former Commandant of the citadel,[8] Haider Agha;

(*g*) and the soap factory[9] known as *ʿawâmîd* [columns] situated in the Sabʿi road of the selfsame protected town; the boundaries of which are the houses of the butcher Gabrish Oghlu and of Devletbây[10] to the south, and to the east the XXVII, 1 houses of the aforementioned Devletbây, and the public road from the north, and from the west the Sabʿiyye road;

1 *W* mentions two *khâns* in the same quarter[1] (but cf. n. 5 *infra*). Factories were often placed in *khâns* in medieval towns.

2 *Ṭutmâj* indicates a Turkish dish of chick-peas with stewed mutton in gobbets (*qush bashy*).

3 The present-day Nahr Abu ʿAli, the Adonis river of the ancients. The Aramaic Qalîṭa is derived from the same root as *qilṭ* in Wâdi-l-Qilṭ, the Biblical Brook Kerith.

4 *Jurunj*, the bitter orange (*citrus vulgaris*). Tripoli is still known for its citrus gardens.

5 See *supra*. Similar *khâns* are still known in Aleppo and elsewhere in Syria and Mesopotamia as Khân eṣ-ṣâbûn

6 Samaritan colonies existed still to the middle of the 17th century in Damascus. In Gaza the name of a public bath (*ḥammâm as-sumara*) indicates their former existence there.

7 These two nouns (indicating an 'old Persian') are not the original name of the person in question, but the title of a Bektashi sheikh.

8 This is not a family name, as in the case of the *dizdârs* in Jerusalem, now called Duzdâr. These Commandants used to be appointed yearly, cf. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XIII, p. 103. The Duzdâr family is a branch of the ʿAsalis.

9 Not mentioned in the Arabic Waqfiyyé.

10 This Daulatbây (Devletbây) is probably the amîr, who was in A.H. 904 [= A.D. 1498] Governor of Tripolis and was then transferred to Aleppo as Governor. *Vide* Ibn Iyâs, *an-nujûm az-zâhira*, II, 360 *et passim*. His full name is Daulatbây bin Arkmâs as-Sâqi (i.e. the cup-bearer). He became also Governor-General of Damascus, and was a relative of the sultân Ṭumânbây.

(*h*) and in the village of *Rash-ḥîn*[1] in the sub-district of Zâwiya attached to the district of the selfsame protected town, all the four mills known as *Ṭaiṭariyya*[2] and situated on the river of Rash-ḥîn, bounded on the south by the said river Rash-ḥîn and from the east and north by the roads [leading] to the orchards, and to the west the orchards;[3]

(*i*) and the four mills situated in the village of *Bistânîn*[4] in the said sub-
XXVIII, 1 district, bounded on the south and west by the river Abu ʿAli,[5] and by the mill ditch on the east, and the public road on the north; which mills are known as Râ'iyyé[6] and are driven by the said river Abu ʿAli;[5]

(*j*) and outside the [outskirts] of the aforementioned protected town the three windmills known as *Ṣahyûn*,[7] which need no further description nor definition, and of which one is known as the main mill [*bâsh déyermèn*];[8]

The whole of these [*awqâf*] mentioned above together with their boundaries, rights, appurtenances, and annexations in general as well as their appendants have been bequeathed by her Majesty, who has stipulated that, during her lifetime, she herself would administer and manage all the affairs of the above-
XXIX, 1 mentioned endowments according to her own wish; that revenues accruing therefrom should be spent in the manner she chooses to direct; that [their administration] should lie in her hands undisputably, so that she may change the conditions of the bequest, its rules and regulations and alter them, reduce or increase them, and that her decisions [in this connexion] be neither objected to, nor hindered, nor be the subject of strife or question by anyone soever; and that, after the ray of light and gift of grace of her soul soars from this bodily world to the spiritual one of Paradise, and ascends to the Gardens of
XXX, 1 eternal bliss,[9] all the affairs of the awqâf should be administered by the sultan of East and West,[10] subject to his enlightened behest. His Majesty would then order the different posts and offices to be given in charge to those trustworthy Moslems and reliable faithful people, who are most fit for them;

[1] *Rash-ḥîn*, *Rish-ḥîn* (Aramaic, probable corruption of Resh-ʿAina), the 'head of the spring', which source still supplies water to Tripolis. This is one of the many Aramaic names in the document. Cf. *Amyûn*, *supra*, which means 'gazelle'. [2] *W*: misspelt *Ṭanṭaziyya*.

[3] i.e. outside the town area. Eastern towns with vast areas of orchards are, *inter alia*, Damascus (with the *ghûṭa*), Aleppo, Tripoli, Baghdâd, Mosul, Basra, Jaffa, Gaza, Ramleh.

[4] *Bashnîn*, as correctly spelt in *W*. It is also an Aramaic word.

[5] or *Qalîṭa* (cf. *supra*, p.185, n. 3). [6] *W*: *Trâbiyye*.

[7] This name occurs in several places in Syria and was known to the Crusaders as Saone.

[8] The original name can only be conjectured, as very few, if any, Turkish rural names have survived in Syria-Palestine.

[9] Lit.: 'the garden of amusement'; here as in so many other mystic expressions no clear line can be drawn between coarse sensuality and sublime spirituality. It may also stand for *al-unsu bi-llâh* (devotion to Allah). [10] *sultân-i âfâq*, the sultan of the horizons, i.e. Lord of the Universe.

[Further her Majesty has ordered] that the trustee be a person renowned for his deep attachment to religion and known for his appearance of integrity and honesty. He should be a pious, religious, acceptable, and religiously minded person [1 word] who would not deviate [sc. from the straight path], and whose hands are clean from committing sins,[1] a man of serious endeavours in XXXI, 1
carrying out his duties, who would welcome guests and not turn them away. He should strive and show his aptitude and should guard himself as much as possible from negligence and carelessness. He should observe with integrity 5
the laws of collecting the revenues and should endeavour to make [the *awqâf*] prosper through all kinds of laudable efforts, following the prescriptions of efficiency, increasing and repairing it from time to time and making it a habit to disburse sufficiently for that purpose; and to pay the greatest attention to it, XXXII, 1
so that all vestiges of [her] illustrious [personage] should thus grow and increase day by day.[2]

An upright and honest clerk should be employed to put down in writing all the [business] transactions of the said *awqâf* and to note them down without delay nor postponement. He should be well versed in accountancy, proficient 5
in writing, and of a sound judgement.

Also a tax-collector, possessed of the said laudable qualities and noble character, able to carry out his duty, and upright, pious, and religiously XXXIII, 1
minded, free from vice and devoted to his duty, should be employed. Whatever he collects and obtains he should hand over and deliver to the trustee without delay.[3]

Enlisting the help and assistance of the said clerk and tax-collector, the 5
trustee should put all the said *awqâf* to profitable use according to the usual practice, the ordinary method, and the lawful ways as well as the well-known manner.

After having duly observed and followed the above-mentioned stipulations XXXIV, 1
laid down, and the restrictions and conditions imposed, the daily fixed wages[4] [payable] to the trustee should be twenty aqtché;[5] his clerk should be paid six aqtché a day,[6] and the tax-collector five aqtché per day.[7]

1 *âsâmden zeili maṣûn*: his skirt well guarded from crimes and sins.
2 One of the premisses of *awqâf* administration and management.
3 He may not keep the money thus collected in his private custody till, say, the end of the month, and thus make use of it to his own ends.
4 *W* has only dirhem throughout. The relative purchasing power of the two coins may be inferred from the respective amounts fixed as wages for the various employees.
5 *W*: Thirty pieces [sc. of gold *per mensem*].
6 *W*: ten dirhem *per diem*.
7 *W*: five revenue collectors at six dirhem each *per diem*.

5 What remains hereafter from the revenues should be spent, whenever necessity calls for it and in sufficient amounts, on the real estates mentioned above, for the repairs and reconditioning of the said buildings, the afore-mentioned noble mosque, the noble rooms, the beautiful caravanserai, and the high and lofty building, in general on the main endowments and benevolent institutions.

XXXV, 2 The illustrious bequeathing lady—may Allah, exalted be He, perpetuate her protecting qualities,[1] and make her exalted rank and eminence endure forever—has thus ordered, that a virtuous *imâm*[2] should be appointed for the aforementioned noble mosque. He should be one of the Moslem juris-
5 prudents and a God-fearing believer, known for his religious knowledge, asceticisms, and piety, endued with forbearance, orthodox belief, and [spiritual] prosperity;[3] mastering the knowledge concerning the pillars of prayer,[4] the religious duties, the rules of action [conforming with the Prophet's precepts],[5] the works deemed to be canonically laudable,[6] the principles and elements of knowledge[7] in religious matters, good behaviour, and beneficent

XXXVI, 1 acts. He should be a Sunnite,[8] following the school of Abu Ḥanîfa.[9] He should lead the Moslem congregation in prayers as prescribed,[10] and also serve as mu'ezzin, calling for prayers. He should be paid three aqtché per day.[11]

5 She has also stipulated that a sheikh should be in charge of the said imperial building.[12] He should be of pure character traits, God-fearing, conforming to the canonical law, content, trusting in Allah, piously scrupulous, and not greedy; of kind words and agreeable speech, forbearing, free from vices, of good demeanour, refraining from hurting one's feeling, pious and of mild and forbearing disposition. He should receive [as wages] five aqtché per day.[13]

XXXVII, 1 Also an under-steward should be employed. He should be known for his

[1] *Adâma zilâlaha*, cf. also in this connexion the epithet given to the sultan: *ḥaẓret-i ẓilliyyet penâhi*, which may be rendered by 'His Protecting Majesty'.

[2] Usually anyone could act for a time as imâm on a single occasion.

[3] *falâḥ*; one of the redundancies inserted for the sake of the rhyme, and untranslatable.

[4] *arkânu-ṣ-ṣalâti*: should probably be: *arkânu-d-dîn*, as prayer itself is the second of the five foundations of religion. Perhaps the order of the congregational prayer is meant.

[5] *sunan*. [6] *mustaḥabbât*.

[7] *mebâdi ve muqaddimât*: in a religious sense, worship, alms, fasting, and pilgrimage, are meant.

[8] Sultân Suleimân's wars which he waged against Persia were, considered from the religious point of view, those of an orthodox *sunni* against a dissident *shî'a*.

[9] The official school followed by the Ottoman Empire. It ranked second under the Mamlukes (cf. Ibn Iyâs, *op. cit.*, *passim*, especially at the end of each year, when the high functionaries are enumerated). [10] i.e. by divine revelation to the Prophet. Cf. the religious meaning of *kutiba* in the Qur'ân.

[11] *W*: four dirhem per day.

[12] *'imâret-i 'âmiré* also: well-preserved kitchen, or that in good condition. The adjective is still applied to official institutions and buildings, e.g. *matba'a'-i 'âmiré*, the State Printing Press (1928).

[13] *W*: eight dirhem.

honesty and religiosity. He should buy (under the directions of the trustee 5
and the sheikh) the requisite foods for the public kitchen, and hand these to
the stores and the larder. He should receive four aqtché per day [as wages].[1]

Also a trustworthy and upright Keeper for the Store Room and another for
the Pantry should be employed. They both should be virtuous and honest
people,[2] and should be put in charge of the Store Room and the Pantry, re-
spectively, which they should keep and guard with honesty and integrity.
Each of them should receive four aqtché per day.[3] XXXVIII, 1

A trustworthy and upright clerk should especially be employed for these
duties. He should be free from moral faults, not deviating from the right
path, and of a morally sound character. He should keep account of receipts
and expenditure, both large and small[4] down to the veriest trifle,[5] without 5
changing or altering the facts, neither neglecting his duty nor failing to enter
these details in an account book. He should receive four aqtché, too, per
day.[6]

Two serious, active master cooks and master bakers, respectively, should also XXXIX, 1
be employed. They should cook the foods in the manner followed by all the
imperial public kitchens, and bake the *Fodûla* bread[7] accordingly. Of the
cooks one should be the head, and should receive six aqtché per day, while 5
the other should receive four aqtché daily.[8] Both of them should have an
apprentice under them, who should be always in their service. He should be
paid two aqtché per day.[9]

Of the bakers, too, one should be the head and receive five aqtché per day,[10]
while the other[11] should get four aqtché a day.[12] Three apprentices should XL, 1
work under them, each receiving two aqtché a day.[13]

Two Inspectors of Food and Bread[14] should also be employed, who should
pursue their duties with honesty, in the usual manner. Each of them should
receive four aqtché daily.[15]

Two persons should be employed to wash dishes and plates, and whose wages
should be two aqtché per day for each.[16]

Further, two persons should be placed in charge of the earthenware dishes;[17]

1 Also eight dirhem in the Arabic Waqfiyye. 2 Lit.: 'free from vice and the betrayal of trust'.
3 *W*: five dirhem. 4 Lit.: 'branch and root.'
5 Lit.: 'the whole and the skin of a date stone.' 6 *W*: six dirhem.
7 W: also called Fodûla. This bread was not white, but rather brown, as may be inferred from its description in the regulations concerning the *jihâd*. It has at present no special form, but is the usual market bread, baked in the building. 8 *W*: seven and three dirhem respectively.
9 *W* mentions no apprentice. 10 *W*: six dirhem. 11 *W* has three bakers.
12 *W*: five dirhem. 13 *W* conforms in this detail. 14 *W*: for 'meat and bread'
15 *W*: five dirhem. 16 *W*: three dirhem. 17 *W*: three *tchanaqji*.

they should be held responsible for cups, bowls, and basins of the whole public
XLI, 1 kitchen building, each receiving as daily wages two aqtché.[1]

Three additional persons should be employed, one for cooking the food.[2] He is to receive two aqtché *per diem*. The two others should wash and cleanse
5 the wheat and rice to be cooked as food. Each of them should receive fifteen aqtché per month as wages.[3]

Two other persons should be employed, one for carrying the wheat destined for bread from the store to the mill, and transporting the flour from the mill to
XLII, 1 the store. He should receive daily three aqtché.[4] The other person should fetch water for the kitchen in sufficient quantity, also sprinkle water in front of the aforementioned benevolent institution. His wage should be two aqtché a day.[5]

5 Two honest, religiously minded persons, pious and able to carry out their duty, should further be employed: the one as guardian of the noble mosque and the living rooms (also to be in charge of pots and pans), and to light and extinguish the lamps in due time, to open the doors in the morning, and to
XLIII, 1 close them in the evening, and sweep and clean [mosque and rooms] whenever cleaning is needed. He should receive four aqtché per day.[6] The other one should carry out the duties of innkeeper[7] of the said caravanserai, as well as doorkeeper and general servant [*ferrâsh*]; and guard the *khân* and keep it in good order and be responsible for carrying out all the necessary relevant
5 services. He should receive daily two aqtché.[8]

Furthermore, two persons should be employed: one as doorkeeper of the [public] kitchen and the refectory, receiving two aqtché[9] a day, and the other as general servant for the [public] kitchen, the refectory, and the building of
XLIV, 1 the sanctuary [*'imâret-i ḥaramîn*], cleaning any refuse or rubbish. He should receive as wages two aqtché daily.[10]

Another three persons, well versed in miller's works, should be appointed, in order to work at the above-mentioned three windmills in the usual manner,
5 performing there whole-time duty, and carrying out the necessary repairs if and when required. The miller in charge of the main mill should receive daily six aqtché,[11] while the others would get three aqtché each a day.[12]

1 *W* three dirhem.
2 *W* omits this detail.
3 *W*: three dirhem per day.
4 *W* mentions here one person to 'measure wheat and rice' at three dirhem *per diem*. A post is provided then for another person to 'prepare rice and wheat' for six dirhem per day, another post for two persons to 'sift the wheat', at a daily wage of four and three dirhem respectively, and finally a post for someone to 'grind the wheat' at two dirhem per day.
5 *W*: three dirhem.
6 *W*: five dirhem.
7 *khânji*.
8 *W*: at four dirhem each daily.
9 *W*: four dirhem.
10 *W*: four dirhem a day.
11 *W* has six dirhem.
12 *W* mentions them after the miller as sifters of wheat with a daily wage of four and three dirhem respectively.

A master repairer[1] should be employed to carry out all important repairs connected with the works. He would be required to repair all apparent defects XLV, 1
in whatever waqf, be they small or large, without delay, and restore them.[2] He should receive four aqtché per day.

For lights and lamps two aqtché should be spent per day.[3] 5

She has therefore apportioned and estimated the following rations for the imperial public kitchen [*'imâret-i 'âmiré*], where food should be cooked twice daily, viz., in the evening[4] and in the morning.[5] On the nights preceding Fridays a *zerdé* rice[6] dish should be cooked; and on all other nights[7] a rice XLVI, 1
soup for the [following] morning should be cooked with clarified butter[8] and for the evening [meals] a burghul soup.[9] Rice for the said dish should be measured out in the Constantinople kilé, and five kilé [each time][10] accordingly, sixty okié[11] mutton, sixteen okié clarified butter, two okié chick peas, 5
four okié onions, five okié salt, one hundred and twenty okié fuel wood, and thirty dirhem pepper.

As for the *zerdé* dish[12] two kilé and four okié rice, six okié clarified cooking XLVII, 1
butter, twenty okié honey,[13] and saffron for ten aqtché worth have been apportioned by her.

With regard to the said rice soup [one][14] kilé and four okié rice, four okié clarified cooking butter, and two okié chick peas together with four okié 5

1 *W* has in this instance a post for a carpenter, mason, stone-cutter in one at five dirhem daily wages.

2 *W* mentions then a person in charge of repairs for the two baths [of Jerusalem] at four dirhem daily wages; another person responsible for the canalization and the glass panes of these two baths also at four dirhem daily wages; finally, a cashier (post not defined) for four dirhem daily wages.

3 *W* has two dirhem instead.

4 In Moslem religious festivals the *waqfe* (corresponding to the Christian *feria*) is observed; the eves of these days are also kept.

5 This practice is still followed in distributing food.

6 *W*: *ruzz mufalfal*, i.e. rice cooked so that the grains do not adhere to each other; it has nothing to do with *filfil*, but is derived from √ *fll*. *W* does not give any definition.

7 *W* considers nights during Ramaḍân equal to Friday nights in this respect.

8 *rûghan-i sâdé* as distinct from *rûghan-i zait* (oil), both expressions being Persian; in common parlance it is also *sày* [= *sâdé*] *yagh*, to distinguish it from butter, *teré yagh*, and *zetîn yagh* (oil).

9 Burghul is considered inferior to rice in the Arab-speaking countries, as indicated by the adage: *il-'izz la-r-ruzz w-il-burghul shanaq ḥâlo* (Rice is honoured, and burghul has hung himself [out of jealousy]). *Burghul* for the correct *Bulghûr*, boiled, dried, and pounded wheat.

10 *Kilé* (of Istanbul) approximately of the same capacity as the English bushel.

11 *Okié* (90 dirhem) and not *Okka* (400 dirhem), both Jerusalem weight.

12 The *zerdé* dish is a Turkish speciality, known to Greeks and Armenians, and Moslem Arabs. *W* gives the Turkish word, with no further definition. Rice is coloured with saffron and sweetened.

13 The *zerdé* is sweetened with honey according to the Turkish recipe and with treacle according to the Armenian and Greek recipe.

14 Quantity missing, supplied from *W*.

onions and five okié salt as well as one hundred and twenty okié fuel wood; and during the seasons pumpkins[1] and *qushûr*[2] and sour milk [*yoghourt*] and verjuice[3] and lemon juice and pepper should be bought for the value of twelve aqtché, as estimated by her;

XLVIII, 1 As to the burghul soup two kilé and one-eighth[4]—according to the Constantinople measure—burghul, together with four okié clarified cooking
5 butter, two okié chick peas, four okié onions, one hundred and twenty okié fuel wood, five okié salt, and half an okié coriander[5] have been estimated by her;

She has also stipulated that [the bread sort known as] *Fodûla* should be baked daily in the bakery mentioned above, the net weight of a baked *Fodûla*
XLIX, 1 being ninety dirhem; and that for the daily baking of these *Fodûla* breads ten kilé flour, five okié salt, and eighty okié fuel wood have been set aside by her.

She has further stipulated that a ration from the above-named dishes should be issued to each devotee and pious person living in the holy precincts, [viz.] a basting-ladle full of cooked food and a *Fodûla* bread per head, to which a lump of cooked meat should be added on Friday eve.[6]

[Cooked rations should also be issued in the same manner] to the Preacher of the noble mosque [*imâm*], the clerk of the awqâf, the Sheikh of the building,[7] the under-steward and his clerk, the keepers of the store room and the pantry,
L, 1 to each of the two cooks and their apprentice, the two bakers separately, as well as to their three apprentices, to each of the two 'wardens', to each of the washers of plates and pans, and those in charge of the dishes, and of cleaning rice and wheat, and to him who carries the wheat to the mill and retransports
5 the flour thence, and to the person carrying water to the kitchen section, and to the guardian [of the mosque], the innkeeper, the doorkeeper at the kitchen and the refectory, the general servant [*ferrâsh*], the three millers separately, and to the repair-master: each time a basting-ladle full of food and two *Fodûla* breads, and on Friday eve a lump of cooked meat should be issued in
LI, 1 addition thereto.

She has further stipulated that food should be distributed in the said refectorium to the poor and needy, the weak and destitute,[8] to four hundred

[1] *Qabaq* stands also for gourd, squash, or vegetable marrow.

[2] *Qushûr-nuqû'* of Persian origin; it is still known locally, though not to be found in the available dictionaries. It consists of dried, cooked fruits served as dessert.

[3] *Qorùq* are sour grapes and much relished; they are used for salads, or pressed for their verjuice. The phrase means both fruit and juice. Sour pomegranate juice (*ribb rummân*) may be used instead.

[4] *Shînik*, a Greek loan-word (χοῖνιξ), equals one-eighth of a bushel.

[5] Not much used in the Arab cuisine, except for sweetmeats and in some household recipes.

[6] In Turkish *yakhni* means a stew of meat (or fish). In Arabic, however, this Turkish loanword is used for any vegetable cooked with meat, as, e.g. *yakhnit betinjân*, egg-plants cooked with meat.

[7] i.e. the person in charge of the building.

[8] This is still being done to this day.

persons at a time, each of them receiving one Fodûla bread and each two of them a bowl of food, a basting-ladle full, and in addition to that a lump of cooked meat on Friday eve; 5

She has also stipulated that except for the above-mentioned servants and other [employees] no food may be set aside to any one person on the request and intervention of anyone, nor may it be taken outside in a copper bucket. Thus LII, 1 food set aside for such a purpose and taken out would be considered [by her] to have been stolen,[1] and [the person doing so] as having committed a crime and a sin against Allah, the eternal King.

Furthermore she has also stipulated that whosoever be *ex officio qapù âghasi*[2] at the Gate of Felicity[3] should be Superintendent [*nâẓir*] of the said *awqâf*.[4] 5

At the end of each year he should take the accounts of the said waqfs from the general trustee [*mütevelli*], who, submitting them, should after due deduction of the estimated expenses and the fixed personal emoluments, pay the rest of the revenues to the Superintendent. This one, in his turn, would accept, LIII, 1 receive, and keep them, so that they may be ready to be spent on the freehold property [*ruqba*], in accordance with the principles followed, if and when vicissitudes and misfortunes happen as months wear into years, ages pass by, and times and hours change.[5]

This arrangement of stipulations and setting of regulations [*temhîd-i ẕevâbiṭ*] having been settled, the model of noble and eminent persons, and the chief of 5 the general and illustrious people, who is especially adapted by the grace of the All-Bounteous King, Ḥaider Kiahya[6] b. ʿAbdu-r-Raḥmân[7] was

[1] Lit.: Morally illicit, or, divinely prohibited.

[2] This was the chief white eunuch (generally a Georgian or a Circassian slave) in charge of the Imperial Palace. His office bears a far resemblance to that of the Lord Great Chamberlain. He was selected not so much for his integrity (greed being one of the vices of eunuchs in general), but more probably because he was always within reach of the sultan and could thus easily be called to account.

[3] *Der-i saʿâdèt*; = *bâb-i saʿâdèt*, known formerly also as *ʿarz qapusù*, Gate of Applications (indicating the habit of submitting them there). It was the innermost of three gates, and led to the Imperial apartment. The outer gate was the august gate, *bâb-i humâyûn*, opposite the Hagia Sophia Mosque, the second gate, *orta qapusù* [the middle, central gate] was used for gaining access to the Imperial Divan.

[4] Guardian, inspector. In Mamluke times the local inspector of pious foundations was the *nâẓiru-l-ḥaramain ash-sharîfain* (Superintendent of the two noble sanctuaries [sc. in Jerusalem and Hebron]), and the north-western gate of the Ḥaram enclosure is called after such an official *bâb en-nâẓir*, now *bâb el-ghawânime* (in honour of the great number of learned members of the Ghânim family of Jerusalem), now corrupted into *Bâb el-Ghawârne* (Gate of the freed slaves from the Ghor or Jordan Valley).

[5] The text differs here from that of the final form of the waqfiyye.

[6] Written *ket-chudâ*, lit. the village chief. This person would be a major-domo (or, in the time of the waqfiyye, the 'Minister of the Interior', though no such office existed *de facto*).

[7] The inference is tempting to consider him, too, as of Christian birth, since his father's name is very vague for a true Moslem. The rhyme is the same in the preceding and succeeding passages.

LIV, 1 appointed by Her Noble Self [*nefs-i kerîmeleri*] to be the joint administrator. She handed over to him all the revenues of the said waqfs, to administer them in accordance with the endowment deed until the registration of them has been completed.

The said Ḥaider Kiahya has wholly and completely acknowledged and confirmed the said words and written stipulations and all regulations, completed 5 and fulfilled them and duly observed and kept them.[1] He signed the details of the said *awqâf* with regard to their legal validity and usefulness, the regulations fixed and the necessity of the written stipulations and their purpose having been legally decreed, pronounced and confirmed and signed by him.

These sentences have been arranged, set up, and written down

On the Thirtieth Day of Jumâda the First, anno Nine Hundred and Fifty Nine [= 24th May, Fifteen Hundred and Fifty Two].[2]

St. H. Stephan

[1] In spite of such a statement, no endowment would be legally valid, unless the bequeather [or his representative] formally retracted his request in Court before its final validation. The judge would thereupon declare the endowment to be a 'beneficial and valid' pious act, quoting at the quoting at the same time some relevant and authoritative legal opinion.

Lines 229 ff. of the *Waqfiyye* indicate the normal course taken in registering the deed finally:—

'. . . When both parties [sc. the trustee and the judge] had made clear their respective point of view and the matter became ripe for decision, the said trustee wished to retract from his engagement to administer her [Majesty's] endowment to which he was appointed by a deed . . . In doing so he only followed the lofty example set by . . . the great *imâm* Abu Ḥanîfa an-Nuʿmân b. Thâbit of Kûfa [? 699–767]. Thereupon the said administrator [read: judge] objected to this refusal, and upheld the view of other great *imâms*, who had decided on the legal validity of pious endowments . . . When the contention and litigation about the difference in opinion . . . reached its highest, . . . Our lord, the above mentioned judge [viz., Mehmed b. ʿAbdu-l-Wahhâb, then second vice-Chancellor of the Ottoman Empire, *Anadolu qâẓi ʿaskeri*] . . . carefully considered the point in issue and studied it thoroughly. He arrived at the conclusion that the trustee had the better case and the stronger argument with regard to the legal validity of the endowment. Thus he delivered a sentence that the *awqâf* should be [endowed and] maintained according to the detailed and general stipulations, thereby agreeing with the opinion of those *imâms*, which opinion he maintains.

Therefore the legal validity of the endowment became binding and was duly registered. Hereafter it may neither be changed nor exchanged. 'Then, if any one alter it after having heard it, the guilt of it rests upon those who alter it; verily Allah hears all and knows all [best]' (Sûra ii, v. 177). May the gracious God requite the endowing lady :

This took place and was registered Mid Shaʿbân 964 [= 14. 6. 1557].

[The deed was witnessed by several grandees of the Ottoman Empire, including the trustee and Rustem Pasha, son-in-Law of Khâṣṣeki Khurrem.]

[2] No indication of the place of issue has been given here, the date being written in Arabic in the usual manner.

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9, 8 7, 6

13, 12 11, 10

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AN ENDOWMENT DEED OF KHÂṢṢEKI SULṬÂN, DATED THE 24 MAY, 1552

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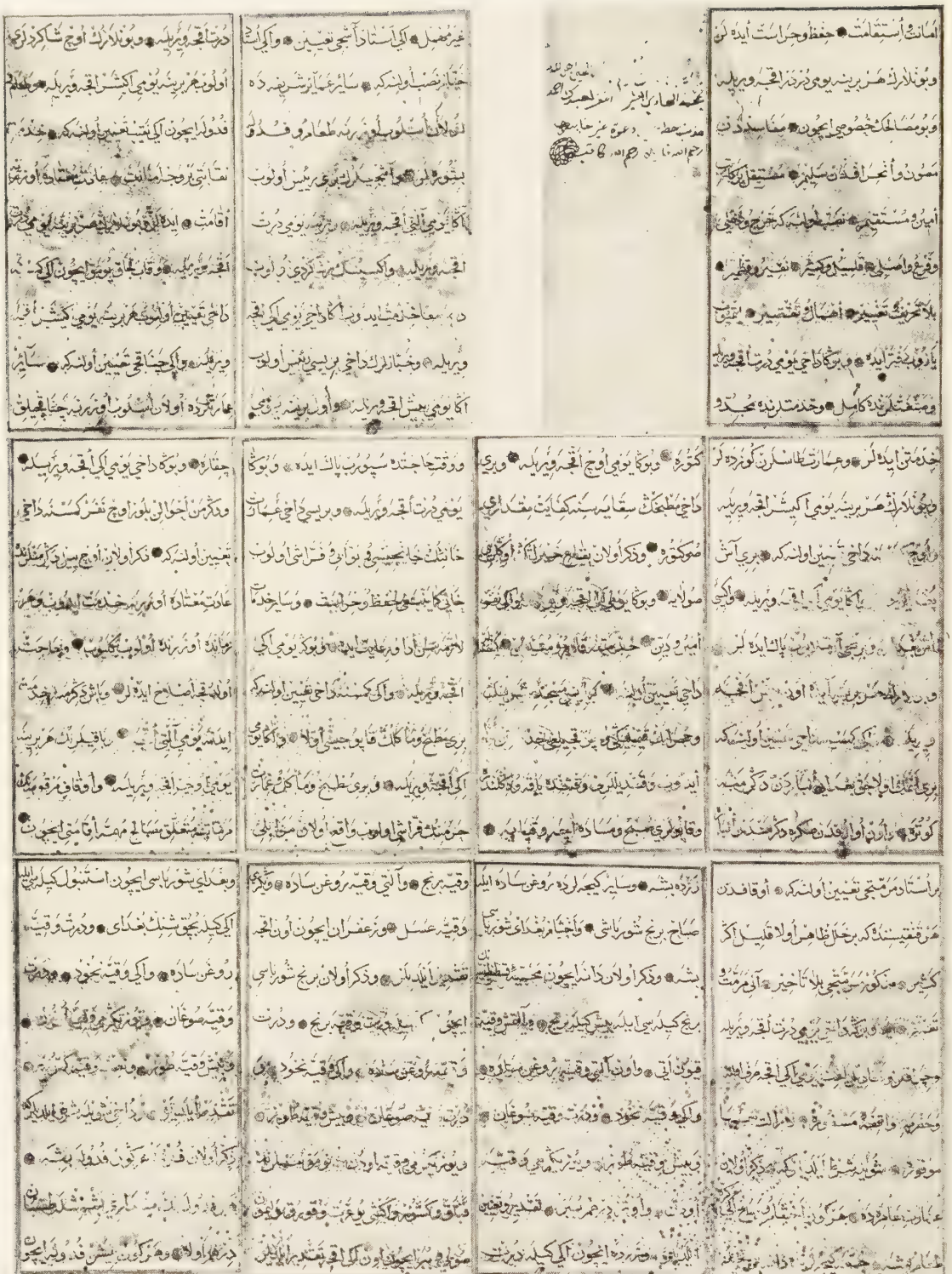

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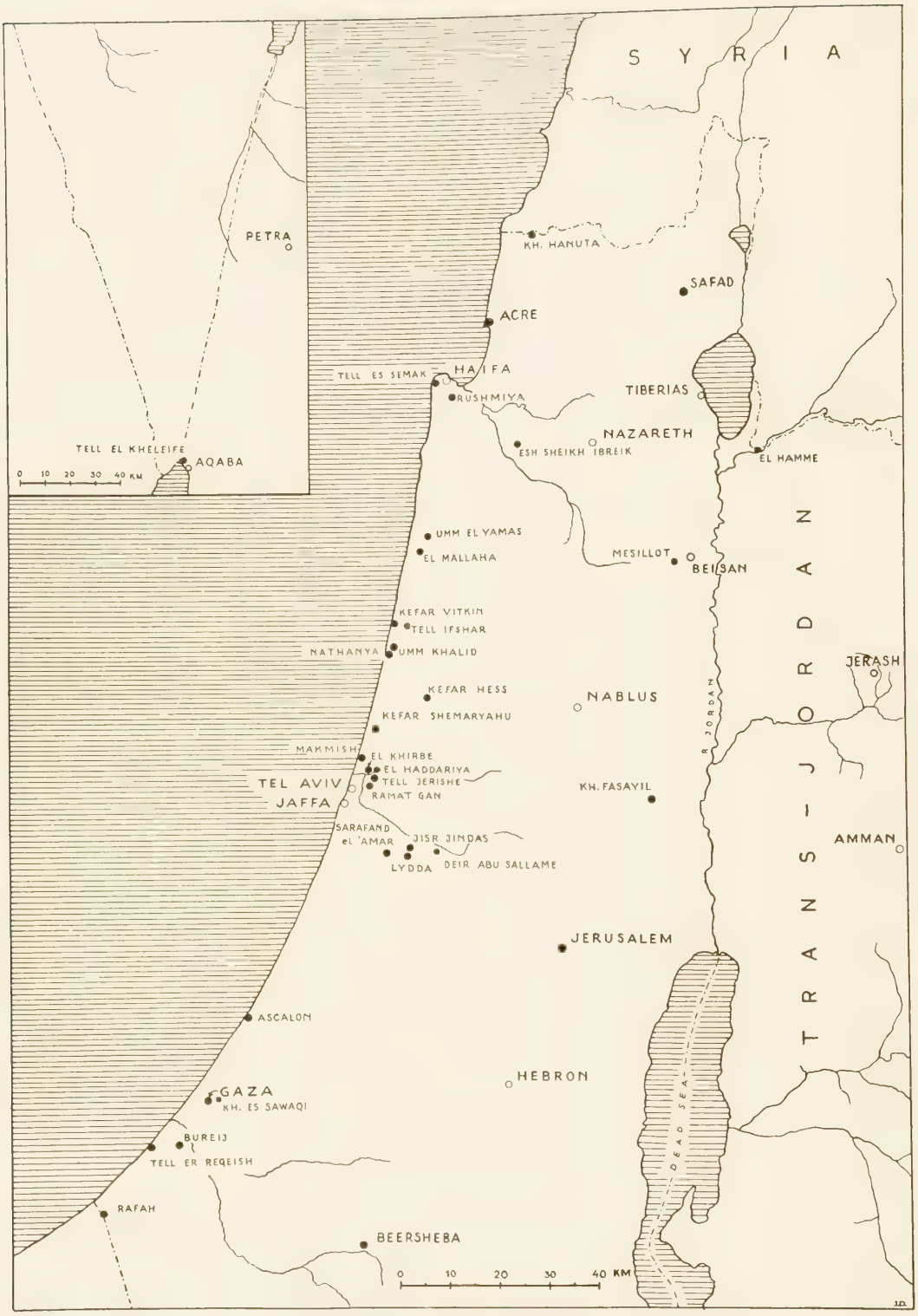
AN ENDOWMENT DEED OF KHÂṢṢEKI SULṬÂN, DATED THE 24 MAY, 1552



Sites of excavations and of other discoveries shown thus ●

EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN, 1939–40[1]

Jerusalem. The Third Wall

(Joint Excavation of the Hebrew University and the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem)

DURING the widening of the road at the back of the American School of Oriental Research in August 1940 a few big stones were discovered. As they were situated on a line due east of the portion of the Third Wall excavated in 1925–8 by Drs. E. L. Sukenik and L. A. Mayer, the Hebrew University jointly with the American School of Oriental Research (headed by Dr. C. S. Fisher) undertook to uncover what might remain of the wall on this site. Partly under the road and partly under the tennis-court of the School, a stretch of wall, 23 m. long and 4 m. thick, and a tower about 12 m. wide and projecting 9 m., were laid bare. Only the foundation layer, consisting of very large stones (the biggest 3·30 m. long, 1·50 m. wide, and 65 cm. thick), and part of the core remained *in situ*. For 140 m. to the east the continuation of the wall could not be exposed owing to the houses, cisterns, &c., that have been built on it, but excavations were resumed on a small open space widening out of a narrow lane near the Hijāzi Mosque. This clearance revealed another tower, approximately 20 m. wide and projecting 8 m., the largest so far discovered on the line of the Third Wall, of which 765 metres have now been traced. As this tower stands near the slope of the Kidron Valley, one may well suppose that the wall turns in this vicinity to join what Josephus called the 'old' wall of Jerusalem.

Kefar Shemaryahu

(Hebrew University, Jerusalem; directed by Prof. E. L. Sukenik)

DURING the construction of a road in the settlement of Kefar Shemaryahu, to the south-east of Arsūf (Apollonia) on the sea-shore, a burial cave was discovered. The cave, apparently a natural cave subsequently adapted for the purpose, was cut in the rock and measured approximately 8 × 8 m. The entrance lay on the southern side and was closed by a rolling stone.

On the eastern and western side of the cave there were four party walls of stone arranged two on each side, so as to form four small burial chambers. Opposite the entrance on a built platform stood a plain marble sarcophagus, measuring 2·10 m. in length, 72 cm. in width, and 75 cm. in height; the sarcophagus was intact and covered by a gabled lid with acroteria at its four

[1] Continued from Vol. IX, pp. 207–16.

corners. Behind it there was a lead coffin decorated with intersecting twisted lines, the spaces between being filled with circles.

It appeared that the cave had been robbed, for both sarcophagi had been emptied of their contents. Only a few small objects were found within the cave: a glass and an iron bracelet, and part of a strigil. The potsherds found in the cave date the tomb approximately to the fourth century A.D.

Esh Sheikh Ibreik

(Jewish Palestine Exploration Society; directed by Dr. B. Maisler)[1]

THE fourth season of excavation began on 23 March 1940 and ended on 5 July.

On the town site the area of the excavations was enlarged to the south-east and the north-west of the synagogue. Here the excavators found a block of buildings, rooms, and courtyards ending in a big construction at the brow of the hill. Of its exterior wall, which runs along the outer limit of the town area, long stretches of one to three courses are preserved. The ashlar masonry is composed of large, well-dressed blocks. The outer faces have smooth drafted margins in the manner of second-century stone dressing. The north-eastern wall of this building runs for its full length and continues up to the synagogue. Three periods of construction could be distinguished. Outside this wall there is a stairway, composed of stone steps; it led out of the town.

Of the building itself only the lower floor has been preserved. This is a series of rooms, partly built and partly rock-cut. Of the upper floor only the thresholds of the doors were found, connecting either with the courtyards on the east or with the staircases leading up to it from the lower floor. The roof of the rooms on the lower floor rested on arches; the walls and floor were covered by a thick coat of smooth plaster.

The building was first erected in the second half of the second century A.D. as a public building of some importance. It existed in its original form until the beginning of the third century. In the course of this century various changes were introduced, affecting both the structure and the use of the building.

Unmistakable traces of ashes and charcoal found in the rooms and in two secondary reservoirs show that the whole building was destroyed by fire. Amongst the ashes was found a hoard of 1,100 coins. The coins belong to the

[1] Assisted by Mr. P. Baradon and Mr. E. Dunayevski (Architect and Surveyor). Prof. Dr. M. Schwabe continued to deal with the Greek inscriptions.

first half of the fourth century A.D. and the series ends with Constantius II. The hoard includes not a single coin struck by Gallus or any other ruler from the middle of the fourth century. We may therefore infer that the building, together with the whole city, was destroyed by Gallus in consequence of the Jewish revolt in the year 352.

Traces of an earlier construction were also found dating back to the first half or the middle of the first century A.D. This, too, was of ashlar masonry with rough bosses. The stones are, however, smaller and are all laid as headers.

Above the ruins of the big building and in the whole of the area excavated there are poor remains of a later settlement; these may be attributed to the second half of the fourth and to the fifth century. The four phases of building now distinguishable cover a period beginning in the second and ending in the fifth century. It now appears that the synagogue belongs to the third of these phases, i.e. it was built in the first half of the third century and was destroyed in the middle of the fourth.

Near the north-eastern wall of the big building the excavators cleared the remains of a well-preserved oven built in the form of a cross. Near it were found a mosaic pavement and a reservoir fed by a plastered drain. These must represent the remains either of a bath or of a glass factory. The second alternative is supported by the finding of numerous clay moulds with glass inside them and many lumps of crude glass besides.

Between the oven and the synagogue a paved peristyle court was cleared. It had six columns arranged in three rows and appears to have been connected in the second period with the big building; it was still in use in the third. In one of the rooms were found several jars and two Graeco-Jewish inscriptions on marble slabs; one mentions an archisynagogus of Pamphylia, and the other refers to two rabbis who were occupied with the affairs of the Beth-She'arim necropolis.

South-east of the synagogue area a building was found containing a big room which was formerly entered by a staircase from the street. Inside, a stone bench runs along three of the walls. The entrance wall is without a bench. Behind this room was a courtyard with a trough, cistern, and rock-cut cellar, the cellar passing below the terrace in front of the synagogue. Objects found in the cistern prove that it was in use from the first to the fourth centuries.

The principal finds of the season included many pottery lamps, coins, bone, copper, and iron objects. Specially interesting are two small bronze keys joined by a chain, and a bronze cylinder containing the remains of a papyrus roll.

In the necropolis another catacomb, No. 11, was cleared. It lies on the

western slope of the hill of Sheikh Ibreik and consists of a vestibule and two halls. The vestibule is approached by a flight of eight broad stone steps. It has a mosaic pavement with a coloured carpet pattern in the centre. Surface water from the vestibule drained into a cistern in one corner. A doorway once fitted with a swing door led from the vestibule to the main hall, from which eight rooms branch off. One of the larger rooms is of special interest. It has a single small loculus intended to contain a collection of ossuaries. Actually only two covers and a fragment of a side were found in it. Several Greek graffiti were found on its walls. The second hall has only one side-room with a bench running along three of its walls.

In this catacomb, as in No. 6, a tradition of tomb-planning can be recognized which dates back beyond the destruction of the Second Temple, e.g. the 'Tombs of the Kings' in Jerusalem.

More sculptured fragments belonging to the mausoleum, found last year, were recovered in the vestibule.

Tell Jerishe

(Hebrew University, Jerusalem; directed by Prof. E. L. Sukenik)

The fourth season of excavations at Tell Jerishe started in the middle of March and continued till the middle of June 1940. On the summit of the tell an area was cleared adjoining the excavation of the previous season. In the top stratum, dating to Iron Age I, the remains of some large structure were unearthed, and near it the mouth of a pit measuring 4 m. in diameter. The pit was filled with fine sand to a depth of 3·25 m., with practically no potsherds. The purpose of the pit is not clear. Below the sand there was a metre of ordinary earth, containing Middle Bronze and, in its lower part, Early Bronze sherds.

In the Iron I level also a store room was discovered with a great quantity of pottery jars; the room had been destroyed in a violent conflagration and the jars were found broken, but the rims of some of them still adhered to the conical clay stoppers with which they had been closed.

Below this level, to the south-east of the store room, the excavation revealed a Late Bronze, and under it, a Middle Bronze stratum. In the latter was discovered part of a room, the walls of which were burnt, and the floor strewn with pieces of slag. This room had probably been used as a smelting plant by metal-workers.

The most interesting feature of this season's work was the great glacis which was laid bare by means of trenches run perpendicularly through it on the

south and east slopes of the tell, and by some trial trenches on the other sides. For the first time we had an opportunity of studying carefully the construction of this type of fortification, which proved to be of a far more complicated character than was expected. The glacis consisted of alternating layers of earth and broken rock (kurkār); below these layers and among them were patches of large sun-dried bricks, or single bricks, laid on a slope parallel to that of the glacis. Vertical brick walls formed the upper limit of the sloping layers of the glacis; these walls were up to seven courses high; the bricks used measured *c.* 40 × 38 cm., and their thickness was *c.* 10 cm. The purpose of the vertical as well as of the sloping brick constructions was evidently to strengthen the loose sand and earth of the glacis and to give these layers additional support. And indeed the bricks fulfilled this purpose extremely well, as the glacis is on the whole very well preserved. The sloping layers of earth contained great quantities of potsherds which clearly belong to the pre-Hyksos period. This system of fortification was therefore built in the Middle Bronze Age. It remained in use till the end of the Late Bronze period.

The pottery found in the course of the excavation includes the ordinary types ranging in date from the Middle Bronze to the Iron I period, among them a quantity of 'Philistine' sherds, some Cypriote pottery, and a few sherds of bichrome ware. Among the more interesting objects a nearly complete incense-stand should be mentioned, and some Astarte figurines. A few scarabs, several bronze weapons, and stone implements were also found.

The last season of the excavations at Tell Jerishe proves that a small settlement existed there in the third millennium B.C. At the beginning of the second millennium B.C. it grew considerably and reached its greatest extent and importance in the second part of the Middle Bronze Age. There was no clear break or conflagration between this period and the following Late Bronze Age, during which the Middle Bronze fortification system continued in use. In the Iron I period a small settlement existed on the top of the tell, in its south-western part. This settlement was abandoned at some time in the tenth or ninth centuries B.C., and from that time onwards the place was never again occupied.

Tell el Kheleife

(American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, and Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; directed by Dr. N. Glueck)

In March–May 1940 the joint expedition undertook the third and final season of excavation of Tell el Kheleife, situated close to the shore of the Gulf of 'Aqaba. The site is to be identified with Ezion-geber:Elath, and was occupied

from the tenth to the fourth century B.C. Almost the entire site has now been excavated, and the work there is concluded. The results of the season's work emphasized again that the intricate smelter-refinery of Ezion-geber:Elath was from the very beginning till near the end of the history of the place considered to be its most important structure. When heat finally cracked the walls of the smelter in places, and repairs and reinforcements were necessary, a means of strengthening them was employed, which had hitherto been applied only to fortresses. A sloping retaining wall, in all respects similar to a fortification glacis, was built against each side of the smelter. By ascertaining the degree of angle of the slope of these retaining walls, it could be determined that they and the smelter walls were about 12 ft. high.

The fortification system renewed during the Second Period of Ezion-geber consisted of two lines of defences. There was a very strong inner wall, strengthened by regular offsets along its outer side. It was from 7½ to 9 ft. thick (the latter measurement at the offsets), and was originally some 25 ft. high. A strong glacis was built against it with corresponding offsets. About 9 ft. beyond the base of the glacis was another fortification wall, about 3 ft. thick and 10 ft. high. It, too, was strengthened by a glacis built against it. Between the two walls was a dry moat, in which, on the north side, a grave was found, containing the bones of a human being and of animals and fish. Part of the brickyard was discovered from which bricks were obtained used in the construction of the fortification walls.

Belonging to Period III was a beautiful seal signet-ring, bearing in retrograde the inscription: *lytm*, 'belonging to Jotham'. Below the inscription is a horned ram. The 'Jotham' probably refers to the king of Judah, whose dominion included also Elath. Additional 'Qausanal, the Servant of the King' stamp impressions, similar to those of the previous season, were found. They belong to Period IV. To period V, dating to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., belong a number of Aramaic ostraca (*BASOR* LXXX, pp. 3–10) and black-glazed Attic sherds.

Much of the material found at Ezion-geber:Elath has a flavour all of its own, and some of it is distinctly unique. The horn- and ledge-handled, hand-made pots, many of them built up on straw mats, are without parallel elsewhere. Some pottery was decorated with bands of protruding dentilated ornamentation. There was, however, also a mass of typical Early Iron Age pottery characteristic of Edom and Moab and also of Cis-Jordan.

OTHER DISCOVERIES[1]

1 July 1938 to 30 June 1940

Acre.

ON the hill of Nabi Salih, opposite the Municipal Garden, a pointed arch discovered in a wall led to the clearance of a circular domed chamber (diam. 4·25 m.) constructed of small burnt bricks and flanked by vaults on both sides; it was partly filled with potter's clay. It is presumed that the find represents a medieval pottery oven.

Ascalon.

Architectural fragments uncovered in the course of agricultural operations include a marble capital (height 0·33 m.) with a cross patée in a circle on one side; also a column base converted into a lintel and decorated with a cross patée inside a wreath, to which are attached two streamers (dimensions: 0·95 × 0·44 m.).

Tell Ashir, Tulkarm Sub-District.

A prehistoric station of the Upper Palaeolithic period is indicated by such surface finds as a large scraper and other flint artefacts.

Beersheba.

During the clearance of a modern drain two marble slabs were found. One was part of a metrical Greek inscription, which was first discovered in 1910 (Alt, *Die Inschriften der Palästina Tertia*, No. 14). The other was a fragment of the 'Beersheba edict' published by F.-M. Abel in *RB*, 1903, p. 429. Both had been re-used as a drain cover some time after 1914.

Bethlehem.

A tomb chamber of the 4th–5th centuries A.D. was found in St. Joseph's Street. Cut in the soft limestone, it was entered from the north by a vertical shaft, which was covered by slabs. Two steps led to the chamber, which had in its centre a square sunk pit. On three sides of the chamber were flat benches under arcosolia. The objects found on clearing included twenty-four lamps and one glass bottle, four beads, a bronze bracelet, and a bronze crosslet attached to a ring.

el Bureij, Gaza Sub-District.

A hoard of 207 coins was found, a few of which were Greek coins of the

[1] Continued from Vol. VIII, pp. 173–6. For the sites mentioned see the map opposite p. 195.

Post-Alexandrine period and the rest Roman, the majority being of the fourth century A.D.

Deir Abu Sallame, Ramle Sub-District.

A Greek inscription was found engraved over the entrance to a rock-cut tomb: ΑΝΝΑϹ ΘΥΓΑΤ[ρός] | ΜΑΘΙΘΙΑ ΒΙϹΑΡΗΝΗ.[1]

Kh. Fasayil, Jericho Sub-District.

A hitherto unknown branch of the ancient aqueduct, lying east of km. 58 of the Jericho–Beisān road, has been discovered near the site of the ancient Phasaelis.

Gaza.

During the extension of the main street of Gaza across the ancient tell at the east of the town there were discovered walls of sandstone and lime mortar, columns of marble and basalt, an Ionic capital, and a marble head of the Roman period.

On the ridge north-east of Gaza were found remains of Late Byzantine or Early Arab date, including walls of rubble laid in a mortar containing sand and sea-shells, the faces of the walls being roughly coated with pink stucco; ribbed pottery, glass fragments, Byzantine coins, and a gold ring were recovered.

el Haddariya, Jaffa Sub-District.

In the ancient graveyard extending along the north bank of the ʿAuja river a curious form of jar-burial was found. Two amphorae and a jar with hollow base were fitted together thus: the neck of one amphora was inserted into the base of another, which was broken for the purpose, and the neck of the jar was likewise inserted into the base of the former amphora, small rubble being used to wedge the jars together. So combined, the jars made a receptacle about a metre long. The amphorae are decorated with zigzag combing between incised parallel lines, and are typical of the Byzantine period.

el Hamme, Tiberias Sub-District.

During the excavation of foundations for a new hotel a marble column was found *in situ* 2·25 m. below surface. It has an hexagonal base, 0·25 m. high, 0·65 m. across. The column itself measures 2·70 m. in height, 0·35 m. top diameter. At 3·50 m. below surface were fragments of a mosaic of very fine workmanship (150 cubes in 10 cm. square), made up of blue, black, grey,

[1] Cf. M. Schwabe and M. Avi-Yonah, *BJPES*, IX.

brown, and bright green glass tesserae set in strong lime mortar. Presumably these fragments belonged to a wall or roof mosaic.

Kh. Hanuta, Acre Sub-District.

A mosaic pavement was cleared in the courtyard of an Arab house north-west of the ruin, at a depth of 10–30 cm. It included parts of two panels of geometrical design separated by a black border; the cubes were of white, black, red, yellow, and brown stone, 100 cubes to the 10 cm. square.

Tell Ifshar, Tulkarm Sub-District.

A rough limestone statue of a winged sleeping Eros of Late Roman or Byzantine date was found at the foot of the tell. The figure is seated on a chair with a tall back; the left foot is raised, while the head reposes on the left knee. The wings are carved from the back of the chair. The whole measures 45 × 24 cm.

Jisr Jindas, Ramle Sub-District.

Works have been carried out with a view to diminishing the danger to the bridge from annual floods. In the course of the clearance of the river-bed various architectural fragments of the bridge were recovered, including a cornice moulding.

Kefar Hess, Tulkarm Sub-District.

In the neighbouring Roman cemetery a limestone sarcophagus was found (dimensions: 2·15 × 0·57 m.), its lid having acroteria at the corners.

Kefar Vitkin, Tulkarm Sub-District.

Four prehistoric stations, with microlithic scrapers and burins of the Upper Palaeolithic Age, have been discovered in the sand-dunes north of the settlement.

el Khirbe, Jaffa Sub-District.

Finds in the ancient graveyard here include several Iron Age II graves with Cypriote pottery. In the course of planting vines a jar covered with a bowl was found; further, a small juglet and a scarab.

Lydda.

During the construction of a row of shops on the north-western part of the mound of ancient Lydda a plain sarcophagus with lid was discovered

(dimensions 2·30 × 1·10 m., 0·90 m. deep). Near it was a tombstone slab with a Greek inscription in six lines, referring to a 'guardian of the orphans'. It reads

ΤΟΠΟϹ ΙΗ | ΤΡΟ ΘΙΝΟΥ | ΦΡΟΝΤΙϹ | ΤΟΥ ΟΡ | ΦΑΝΩΝ.

The inscription has been published by Mr. Ben-Zevie in the *BJPES*, VIII, pp. 18–20 and discussed by Prof. M. Schwabe (*Tarbiṣ*, XII, 3, pp. 230 ff.).

Makmish (Tell Qantur), Jaffa Sub-District.

A surface exploration of this mound and its vicinity has disclosed evidence for the existence on the site of an Iron Age II (Phoenician?) settlement which lasted through the Persian period into the Hellenistic.

el Mallaha, near Caesarea, Haifa Sub-District.

Remains of a small building, perhaps a temple (6 × 1·50 m.) were found on this site, near the columbarium. The remains consist of foundations of dressed blocks measuring up to 1·70 m. in length.

Mesillot, Beisan Sub-District.

A Roman cemetery has been accidentally discovered in the vicinity of this settlement. The remains comprise fragments of seven sarcophagi, including one with a garland and the figure of a lion, and pieces of white mosaic.

Nathanya, Tulkarm Sub-District.

The exploration of the Roman necropolis to the south has continued with the expansion of the town. The finds included (*a*) two rock-cut loculi, one of which, 2·05 × 0·53 m., contained a limestone sarcophagus with lid. The lid had acroteria in the corners; there were four small ledges at the corners just inside the sarcophagus, presumably designed to hold the lid in its place. The tomb yielded, *inter alia*, ten glass bottles. (*b*) Another tomb, sunk in the soft rock and plastered, measuring 2·25 × 0·93 m. (*c*) A third tomb with *kokhim*; it consisted of a central hall having a sunken pit in the floor, three loculi in the walls to the left and opposite the entrance, and one loculus on the wall to the right.

Rafah, Gaza Sub-District.

A fragmentary Greek inscription on a marble slab has been found on this site. It reads

+ΤΟΥΤ . . . | ΗϹΕΝ . . . | ΚΟϹΜ . . . | ΑΥΤΟ . . . | ΤΟΥΛ . . . | . . .

and is of the Byzantine period.

Another, Latin, inscription, of which the lower eleven lines only have been preserved, was discovered in a vineyard near the village. It measures 0·40 × 0·19 m.

Ramat Gan, Jaffa Sub-District.

The remains of a large wine-press have been found in the settlement. They consist of a hall (8 × 4·64 m.) paved with a grey and white mosaic (15–17 cubes to the 10 cm. square). The mosaic does not extend over the southern part of the hall, which is lower and contains two sunk circular pits, measuring respectively 0·95 and 1·80 m. in diameter. The smaller is 0·50 m. deep, the larger 1 m.; they are connected by a channel 15 cm. wide. The smaller pit is paved with mosaic, the larger has a plastered floor. A bin 70 cm. in diameter is built into the north-east corner of the wall, 30 cm. above the floor. It is made of plastered rubble. The whole establishment can be dated to the third or fourth century A.D.

Tell er-Reqeish, Gaza Sub-District.

On this mound, situated on the cliffs along the sea-shore south-west of Deir el Balah, soundings made by the Public Works Department have disclosed the existence of a necropolis dating to the end of Iron Age II. Twenty-four jars or urns have been recovered, most of which contained cremated human remains. In many of the jars were found bottles of 'Cypro-Phoenician' type or of burnished ware, and two of these had each two scarabs and some beads, of carnelian or blue glazed paste. A full report is in course of preparation.

Rushmiya, Haifa Sub-District.

A cave-tomb of the usual Roman type has been found, consisting of a hall with three burial recesses each with two loculi under arcosolia. The door to the tomb-cave was closed with a stone slab.

Safad.

A tomb of Arab date was discovered south of the Banat Ya'qub cemetery. It consists of a barrel-vaulted room, 1·90 × 1·65 m., 1·50 m. high, built of undressed stone; the vault is of pointed section. In the east end-wall is an opening 0·50 × 0·40 m. The pottery found includes a pot with conical mouth and globular body decorated with incisions, and also green and yellow-glazed sherds.

An Arabic inscription dated A.H. 980 (=A.D. 1453) and mentioned by an

old traveller[1] but since considered lost was lately rediscovered; it belonged to the Pasha's serail and part of it has been found at the Government Secondary School.

Another inscription, dated A.H. 507 (= A.D. 1114) and commemorating the building of the Mosque Jami el Arba'in (destroyed c. 1880), has come to light.

Tell es Samak, Haifa Sub-District.

A circular rock-cut basin was found on the sea-shore west of the site. It had two channels leading to the sea, one to the north, the other to north-west. Regular grooves cut in the rock round the south side of the basin were probably used to fix a marble pavement. Fragments of marble slabs (including one fragment decorated with a cross) were found, also a marble colonnette. The whole probably represents the remains of a private sea-bath.

During the widening of the Haifa–Jaffa road a tomb was discovered in the flank of Cape Carmel opposite the tell. It had niches of arcosolium type opposite and on either side of the entrance, a loculus being hollowed out of the bench of each arcosolium. Pottery and lamps were found in the loculi.

In the course of the same operation the foundations and mosaic pavements of a small chapel were cleared. The building consists of a nave and sanctuary ending in an apse with a small room on the south, presumably the diakonikon. The sanctuary was separated from the nave by a marble screen; the groove in which the screen was fixed is still extant, as well as one of the two bases of the colonnettes flanking the entrance to the sanctuary. Decorated fragments of marble screen slabs were collected, including one with a cross in relief. A mosaic pavement decorated with fleurons was found outside the apse, to the east. The diakonikon had an almost complete pavement, measuring 5·35 × 2·80 m.; it had a guilloche border and a field of interlacing ovals and circles, each decorated with different designs, both geometrical and floral. The colours of the cubes are white, black, grey, red, brown, yellow, green, and blue; there are 90 cubes to the 10 cm. square. Ribbed Byzantine pottery was found in association with the structure.

Sarafend el 'Amar, Ramle Sub-District.

During the extension of a cutting made in connexion with railway works a tomb was discovered; it was built of plastered rubble set in mortar and was apparently vaulted. In the same cutting were also found marble capitals, later reused as mortars, and a Cufic inscription.

[1] For the text cf. *QDAP*, Vol. IV, p. 161.

Sarid, Nazareth Sub-District.

Three Roman milestones were found, measuring 1·70, 1·60, and 1·30 m. in length. One has a Latin inscription.

Kh. Sawaqi, Gaza Sub-District.

A masonry tomb (2·12 × 0·55 m.) was discovered on the site. It was constructed of dressed stones laid dry and was closed with flat coverstones. Orientated north-west to south-east, it contained a lead coffin with the head at the south-east. The coffin (1·80 × 0·35 m.) is decorated with lozenges and a central square formed by ropes, further by masks and the figure of a dancer in relief. Its contents included a gold ring with a stone, and a gold band with a stone in the middle and a perforation at each end (a bracelet?).

Umm Khalid, Tulkarm Sub-District.

Microlithic scrapers and burins of the Upper Palaeolithic Age were found in the stretch of red sand, south of the village.

Umm el ϒamas, Haifa Sub-District.

A sculptured head of Roman date was discovered on this site and sent to the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

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[1] Continued from Vol. IX, pp. 216–18. Owing to the present situation this bibliography cannot be exhaustive. It is hoped to publish a supplement as soon as circumstances permit.

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